The Nation.

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The Week.

Gen. Shafter's statement that it would have cost 5,000 lives if Santiago had been stormed instead of surrendered, as it was on Sunday, may not have been intended as a full justification for his prudent and patient course in pressing for surrender, but such it undoubtedly is. It took nearly two weeks to bring the negotiations to a conclusion, and it would appear that Gen. Shafter was subject to a good deal of nudging from Washington to make him hurry; but deliberation and firmness combined finally carried the day. Counting in what would have been the inevitable Spanish losses if Santiago had been carried by assault, we have probably a saving of 10,000 lives as a result of calm negotiation. Both Gen. Shafter and Gen. Toral acted like humane men most anxious to avert needless bloodshed. As soon as they were given a free hand by their respective Governments they arranged terms based upon the actual military situation, and honorable to both sides.

President McKinley's letter of instructions for the government of Santiago may be taken as a proclamation to the world as well as an order to Gen. Shafter. It does not commit the Administration to any particular policy after the Spanish forces shall have been entirely expelled from Cuba, but it gives in outline the general views entertained by our Government touching that island. These general views are that the civil, political, and religious rights of the inhabitants shall be respected, that private property shall not be confiscated, and that the local laws shall be enforced so far as they are not in conflict with the necessities imposed by military occupation and movements. The most important clause of the instructions is that in which the President decides that the present administrators of the law shall continue their functions, if they accept the supremacy of the United States, viz.:

"The judges and the other officers connected with the administration of justice may, if they accept the supremacy of the United States, continue to administer the ordinary law of the land, as between man and man, under the supervision of the American commander-in-chief. The native constabulary will, so far as may be practicable, be preserved. The freedom of the people to pursue their accustomed occupations will be abridged only when it may be necessary to do so."

The significance of this clause is twofold. It negatives the idea that the government of the island is to be turned over to the insurgents, and it conveys the virtual promise that Cuba shall have self-government—that is, government by the majority—whenever Spanish authority shall be entirely overthrown. In so far it keeps faith with the resolution of Congress which declares that, in entering upon war, we had no other purpose than to bestow liberty upon the people of Cuba, and that when this should be accomplished we would withdraw from the island.

The seizure of the Caroline Islands, which it is now practically admitted in Washington that the *Monterey* was ordered to make on her way to Manila, is not intended to secure a coaling-station so much as a missionary station. It appears that the different missionary societies doing work in the Carolines urged the President to take them out from under the Spanish flag, so that the act, if it is done, will be one not of military necessity, but of religious expediency. We observe, also, that representatives of the leading mission boards met last week to consider plans for harmonious division of fields in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, all of which they coolly assumed would soon be United States territory. In their minds, of course, this is only the exercise of wise foresight in preparing for the inevitable. But in thus indicating to the Government that they are prepared to support it in stripping Spain of all her colonial possessions, these heralds of peace have undoubtedly aided in delaying peace.

It is not necessary to magnify the importance of the "*Irene* incident" in the Philippine Islands. If the Germans were doing anything improper, it is clear that they did not continue it against the wishes of the American commander. It is equally clear that whatever was done is of little consequence unless it was authorized by the German Government, and as that Government has assured our own of its pacific intentions, we are justified in concluding that the act of the commander of the *Irene*, if contrary to law or comity, will be disavowed. Admiral Dewey has displayed such excellent judgment as to make it probable that the interests of his country will be maintained with proper dignity and without needless friction. The manner in which the incident is discussed by the militant element in the English press is significant of what is before us if we embark on our voyage of imperial destiny. However friendly the English people may be, it is not doubtful that this element would regard a quarrel between our Government and that of Germany with the greatest satisfaction. Such a quarrel would tend to weaken Germany and hinder her from meddling with the colonial designs of England. At the same time it would greatly encourage the element in this country which favors a military alliance with England. Moreover, such a quarrel would tend to diminish the danger to which English manufacturers are exposed from American competition. When the advantages of stirring up ill-feeling between our Government and that of Germany are so obvious, it is not surprising that the London *Times* should proclaim that the conduct of the Germans had come "perilously near producing complications of an exceedingly untoward kind."

Rumors of peace are flung from every quarter, but have done little as yet except to emphasize the enormous difficulties in the way of peace. Is there any trustworthy evidence that the two governments are at present within sight of a basis for even negotiating, to say nothing of agreeing? The alleged terms which Spain puts forward are promptly declared in Washington to be quite inadmissible. Our reported proposals are affirmed in Madrid to be monstrous and wholly out of the question. This, of course, might be only the customary fencing of two parties who, after a little, will sit down to a table and talk reason. But, as much as we hope our view of the situation may turn out erroneous, we are bound to say we see no immediate prospect of successful negotiations for peace. One should observe how Senators are rising in arms as soon as a hint appears in the press that President McKinley may not be disposed to exact the uttermost farthing from Spain. Senator Davis, chairman of the foreign affairs committee, as if purposely to warn Mr. McKinley not to forget the Senate, came out in an interview on Friday coolly assuming that Spain is to be utterly stripped of her colonial possessions, and Senator Cockrell favored us with similar views the next day. If this is to be our ultimatum to Spain, we do not think she will lie down under it any more readily than she did under our ultimatum of last April.

Most candidates for Congress thus far nominated have been rather shy about expressing an opinion as to the proper policy for our Government to pursue regarding Spanish territory which may come into our possession during the war. Representative Littauer of the Twenty-second New York District, who was renominated the other day, was more definite than most of his colleagues who have been heard from in what he said on this subject. Mr. Littauer said that he "was one of those who earnestly stood by our patient, wise, and patriotic President against the taunts of Democrats and the impatience of Jingoes, in the po-

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licy that every honorable means must be exhausted of inducing Spain to put an end to the war in Cuba"; and, diplomacy having failed, he now has "no fear that our people will become intoxicated with the demonstration of their power in war so as to enter upon a policy of colonial expansion and empire." Mr. Littauer justified the annexation of Hawaii, but insisted that it "has no relation to the acquisition of further territory," and opposed the retention of more than coaling stations for our navy and harbors for our commerce in the Spanish islands which we take during the war, holding that we should "give the people of these islands the opportunity to secure good government through self-government and by the most feasible methods."

An impressive deliverance on the subject of our national policy with regard to Spanish possessions that may come under our control during the war has been made by the Hampshire County (Mass.) Association of Congregational Ministers. At its summer meeting, about a month ago, a committee was appointed to prepare a statement of the sentiments of the body on this subject, and a majority of the members of the Association have approved the report of this committee. While avowing their "belief in benevolent intervention upon sufficient cause," and holding that our intervention in Cuba was fully justified, the clergymen declare that, "because we believe in benevolent intervention, we do all the more earnestly protest against the prostitution to selfish and unjust gain, and denounce all solicitation from industrial, financial, political, journalistic, *and alleged religious ambitions* to debauch our national honor by perverting this undertaking from its plighted, unselfish purpose to ends of conquest and colonial empire." The land-grabbers have already tried to defend the policy which they advocate by claiming that the people of these various islands are not capable of governing themselves, and consequently we must govern them. To this plea the Massachusetts ministers make a fine rejoinder. They believe that "liberty under God is the birthright of man, and to be taken from no people until, after opportunity of self-government, their misgovernment shall have become a scandal and intolerable disturbance to the peace of the world." They point to Japan "as an example that an Oriental people, if willing to maintain political and religious liberty, may come to power and honor among the nations of the earth."

The outbreak of yellow fever in Cuba calls attention to one pressing duty that devolved upon Congress at the recent session which was neglected. This was the passage of a law to render more effective the existing system of quarantine under the management of the Marine Hospital Service. This has already proved its great utility as far as it goes, but it is not carried as far as it should be. The necessity of its extension was made perfectly plain by the Senate committee on public health, which brought in a bill granting additional quarantine powers and imposing additional duties upon the Marine Hospital Service, but no action was taken upon it, and things are therefore still left as they were last summer, except so far as the war may justify the President in taking action in an emergency without reference to State or local regulations.

The Common Council of Philadelphia has been even more remiss than the Congress of the United States in its neglect of the public health. For years that city has suffered more, proportionally, from typhoid fever than any other in the country. The cause is well known to be the impurity of its water supply. A system of filtration which would make the water pure has been devised; it is entirely practicable and can be applied as soon as the money needed is voted by the Common Council. The necessity of immediate action has been emphasized by a recent outbreak of typhoid fever in the northwest section of the city, which was clearly attributable to the pollution of the water supply by sewage. Yet, in the face of all this, the Common Council, by a vote of 52 to 50, has postponed for six months an ordinance appropriating the money needed to construct filtering plants. The majority who took this action, in the words of the *Press*, "practically and in effect sentence some 200 persons to die of typhoid, and some 4,000 persons to suffer from a disease whose prostrating effects extend over years." The motives for this shameful policy are well known. "The ordinance," says the *Ledger*, "is antagonized by a combination consisting of factional enemies of the administration, supporters of private water schemes akin to the malodorous Schuylkill valley jobbery, and obstinate individuals with impractical and obsolete ideas of their own"; and it declares, in so many words, that "a system of purification would have been introduced before this if corruptionists could have seen their way clear to swindle the taxpayers in connection with it."

To find a total import trade as small as that of the fiscal year 1898, the student of our commerce must turn back as far as 1879, when the country's population was smaller by nearly twenty millions than its present total. Only five years ago, in the fiscal year 1893, the United States imported $866,000,000 worth of foreign goods. In the past fiscal year the total fell to $616,000,000. The net result is an excess of exports over imports wholly unparalleled in our history, the so-called balance of trade in our favor reaching $615,259,000, against the $286,263,000 balance which in 1897 was hailed as breaking all past records. It is needless at this time to recite the various striking effects produced on our general finances by this extraordinary year of trade. Not least among the visible results is the import of very nearly $100,000,000 gold in excess of exports, this sum not including the arrivals from the Klondike. With the year's domestic gold production reckoned at upwards of sixty million dollars, it is not surprising that the use of gold in all bank and Government exchanges has been freely resumed, and that even the recent advance subscriptions of small subscribers to the Government loan have resulted in an increase of $12,000,000 in the Treasury's gold balance. Such is the story of a year which is likely long to remain a landmark in our commercial history. In view of all the peculiar influences which combined to bring about such results, it is safe to say that the most interesting present problem lies in the question how far these trade conditions will now be modified or reversed. That the export total of 1898 will be repeated is hardly to be expected; the total shipments, even in June, fell off some $15,000,000 from the aggregate of May. But the merchandise import trade of June decreased $2,000,000 from that of the previous month, $4,700,000 from that of April, and fully $10,000,000 from that of March.

It is an extremely edifying spectacle which five of the architects of our Greater New York charter present when they sign a formal statement to the Governor in favor of legislation undoing their own folly in regard to the combined debt of the new city. Not a man of the five, including Gen. Tracy, would pay the slightest heed to protests which were made to them last year on this very subject. Every authority of any standing in such matters called attention to the inadequacy and crudeness, to use no stronger terms, of those sections of the charter which refer to debt and taxation, but the charter-makers were stone deaf on the subject. As those sections were constructed and finally enacted, they invited the new sections of the city to incur all the indebtedness they possibly could before coming in, with the assurance that, after they were in, the new city would foot the bills. As the Comptroller points out, something like $22,000,000 of county debts, in addition to the full constitutional limit of city debts, was thus dumped upon the new city, and made to constitute a part of its common indebtedness. In fact, the opportunity to do this very thing was the chief inducement held out to the new sections to come into the enlarged city. Now,

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the charter-makers who perpetrated this act, turn about and assure the Governor that they "heartily approve of the elimination of county debts" from the total city indebtedness. How do the sections of the city which would have this $22,000,000 thrown back on them for payment, like this kind of dealing? That they ought to be made to pay it, cannot be denied; but would they not be the victims of a confidence game if, after being beguiled into consolidation by the promise of having somebody else pay their debts, they were forced to pay them themselves?

In commenting upon the recent decision of the Nebraska Supreme Court regarding the question of home rule in cities, we spoke of the law which it annulled for unconstitutionality, conferring authority upon the Governor to appoint Fire and Police Commissioners in cities of the metropolitan class, as having been passed by the last Legislature, which was a Populist body, for partisan purposes. We have since been reminded that, while the act upon which the court rendered judgment was passed by the Populist Legislature and applied by the Populist Governor, the odium of introducing the principle rests upon the Republican party. A law was passed by a Republican Legislature and approved by a Republican Governor, some years ago, at a time when Omaha was usually Democratic, which gave to the Governor the power of appointing the Fire and Police Commissioners for that city. The constitutionality of this law was disputed by the Opposition, but the Supreme Court sustained it. As soon as a Populist (Holcomb) was elected Governor, all the other State officers being Republican, a Republican Legislature amended the law so as to give the appointing power to a board consisting of the Governor and two other State officers, both of whom were Republicans. This also was contested in the courts, but the Supreme Court decided in favor of the appointees of the two Republican officers (the Governor refusing to act with them). When at last the Populists gained control of the Legislature and had reëlected their Governor, they simply restored to the Governor the appointing power as it had been under the original Republican law. Then the Republicans, in their turn, contested the constitutionality of what was practically their own law, and the same two judges who had once sustained it reversed themselves, declared the law unconstitutional, and put forth a stout defence of the principle of home rule. This is, of course, a worse showing for the Republicans than for the Populists, and justifies the fear expressed by our correspondent that a court which has made three conflicting and contradictory decisions upon the same law, but always in favor of its Republican allies, may find an excuse for rereversing itself if the necessities of the Republican machine shall ever seem to require it.

The Dominion of Canada is enjoying an expansion of trade similar to that of this country. Of course the same causes account in part for this: bountiful harvests here, failure of crops abroad, together with a general revival of activity in business on account of the revival in the United States. But in Canada there has been a reduction of customs duties, while here we have raised them. Hence in Canada the revenue from customs has increased, while our revenue has seriously fallen off. The volume of imports into Canada has increased, in spite of the large reduction of duties, from $19,478,000 in 1897 to $21,467,000 in 1898. How greatly our own imports have declined, as well as the customs revenue, it is unnecessary to repeat. Instead of a large deficit, filled only by using up the payments for the Pacific railroads and additional taxation, the Canadian Government is able to show a surplus of probably more than a million dollars. The postal revenue has increased, the circulation of bank-notes has increased, the railway returns have increased, foreign trade has increased; but the taxes have been diminished. The people who use cotton goods have to pay less for them. Woollen goods that cost $1.25 may now be bought for $1.00, and so on in the case of many articles. The effect of the still lower duties that go into effect this year ought to be carefully observed by our legislators.

The formation of an Anglo-American League, which was formally accomplished in London on July 13, is significant at least as showing that the talk of an alliance is not to be abandoned. But it is hard to maintain a league that has no definite purpose, and the resolution adopted in London is extremely vague. It recites that the peoples of the United States and England are similar in race, literature, and governmental institutions, and that as they are "drawn together by strong common interests in many parts of the world," the two nations ought cordially and constantly to coöperate. This sounds very well, but the important question is to know what such coöperation means. Is this country to coöperate with England in maintaining the balance of power in Europe, and in defending her colonial possessions against the attacks of her enemies? Is England to coöperate with this country in extending its sovereignty over the islands of the Pacific and the continent of Asia? Such coöperation means nothing less than an offensive and defensive alliance, for if we are not prepared to exhibit our sympathy by material aid, England's enemies will laugh at our "cordial coöperation" with her. On the other hand, if there is to be no military alliance, coöperation must necessarily relate to commercial relations, and we are brought face to face with the question whether we shall coöperate with England in her free-trade policy, or try to wrest her markets from her. It was on this account that Lord Farrer said that in this movement prudence was as necessary as enthusiasm. He referred to the anticipated policy of American expansion, and sharply distinguished the English principle of the "open door" in the development of her commercial empire, from the policy of other nations in closing the door when they established colonies. If the United States is prepared to coöperate with England in freeing commerce from protective duties, the Anglo-American League may have as glorious a future as the Cobden Club has had a past. But if this country is to compel its new colonies to trade exclusively with us, English coöperation will not be desirable, nor will it be offered.

The Liberal party in England are laughing at the collapse of the scheme for pensioning old people. At the election in 1895 one of the cries was, "Vote for Chamberlain and old-age pensions," and it was necessary for the Conservative Government to do something to show that it intended to support the scheme. Accordingly a committee was appointed to investigate the whole subject, and it has just presented its report. It examined thoroughly all the plans suggested by Mr. Chamberlain and others, as well as one contributed by one of its own members, Sir Spencer Walpole, and it finds them all impracticable. Furthermore, it declares that the principle upon which they all rest, and upon which every similar scheme must rest, is pernicious and incompatible with the existing constitution of society. The report of the committee is really a trenchant criticism of modern socialistic tendencies, and shows that Harcourt's declaration, "We are all socialists now," is very far from the truth. It might be supposed that Mr. Chamberlain would evince some discomfiture at such a rebuff as this, but as he had cheerily announced, "I never promised old-age pensions," he will evidently mind this blow no more than the collapse of his visions of colonial empire. The committee were empowered to examine any plans that might be presented having the purpose of encouraging the working classes to make provision for old age, by state aid or otherwise, and to consider especially their probable cost to the exchequer and to the local rates, their effect in promoting habits of thrift and self-reliance, their influence on the prosperity of the friendly societies, and the possibility of securing the coöperation of these institutions. No less than a hundred schemes were laid before the committee,

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CHANGING THE CONSTITUTION.

The acquisition of the Hawaiian Islands was accomplished under the most unfavorable conditions for calm and deliberate action. The imaginations of most Congressmen were so heated by visions of commercial empire and military glory as to make them indifferent to all warnings and deaf to all arguments. In the Senate the supporters of the Administration openly took the position that they would not defend its policy, but would let their opponents talk themselves out. The result was that the constitutional questions involved in the acquisition of new territory were not fairly faced by those who voted for it, and in the country at large the gravity of these questions appears to be almost unnoticed. Nevertheless, the action of the Senate has effected an important change in the Constitution, and, what is more remarkable, a change that deprives the Senate of one of the most valuable of its powers.

It was contended by the opposition that no precedent existed for the acquisition of territory by joint resolution. All previous extensions of the borders of our country, except in the case of Texas, had been made by the exercise of the treaty-making power vested by the Constitution in the President and Senate. Texas, it is true, was admitted to the Union by joint resolution, but it was admitted as a State. The Constitution expressly confers upon Congress the power to admit new States, yet many of the most distinguished constitutional lawyers of that day believed that their admission by joint resolution was beyond the constitutional grant of power. Daniel Webster was not in Congress when Texas was admitted, but when he came there at the next session he gave his opinion that its admission by joint resolution was unauthorized. Texas was an adjoining State, and its inhabitants by a great majority had asked for admission to the Union; but Mr. Webster and other great lawyers maintained that the Constitution was changed when Congress admitted it by joint resolution. The precedent, however, was established, and it had to stand; but it is no precedent for the acquisition of territory in any part of the world without the vote of its inhabitants, and with the positive disclaimer that a State is being admitted into the Union.

The present action of Congress is thus without precedent; but henceforth it will be a precedent, and the Constitution will be interpreted in accordance with it. In other cases the Constitution may be protected by the Supreme Court. Individual citizens whose liberties have been infringed by act of Congress may appeal to that high tribunal and have its decision on the constitutionality of the oppressive statute. Not so in the case of the rights of a legislative body like the Senate. If it relinquishes its own powers, and refuses to assert its own rights, it can appeal to no other body to restore what it has abandoned and defend what it has neglected. As Senator Spooner observed, no other power and no other officer of Government would question the validity of the acquisition of Hawaii after the joint resolution was adopted, but the question for Senators to consider was simply what was involved in their oath to support the Constitution of the United States. The action of a majority of the Senators must be taken as showing that they believe that territory may be constitutionally acquired by the United States by other means than treaties, and it is henceforth a constitutional principle that for such purposes the treaty-making power may be dispensed with. It is almost incredible that the gravity of this objection was absolutely ignored by every supporter of annexation. Even Senator Hoar, whose speech contained the best defence of the new policy that was made, was silent on this point.

It is a remarkable spectacle to see a legislative body, preëminent among such bodies for the tenacity with which it maintains its prerogatives and the assiduity with which it extends them, throwing away for ever the most dignified and important of them all for the accomplishment of an intrinsically small and temporary purpose. So long as the treaty-making power existed unimpaired, the country was reasonably secure against recklessness in territorial expansion. The necessity of the Presidential initiative, the necessity of a concurrence by two-thirds of the Senators, insured deliberation and prevented hasty and impulsive action. The framers of the Constitution did not insert the requirement of a two-thirds vote without good reason. They justly considered that in the foreign relations of the country no important action should be taken against the desire of any considerable number of the States of the Union. With the change now made in the Constitution it will require only a bare majority in both houses of Congress to annex territory in any part of the world. Acquisitions will be made that never could have been made had the treaty-making power remained unimpaired. In place of treaties we shall have joint resolutions, and whenever the frenzy of war seizes on our representatives they will no longer encounter a check from the Constitution, but will carry out their impulses by the most expeditious means. The step taken is irrevocable and it is in vain to deplore it; yet the fact that so momentous a step should be taken without notice in the excitement of war, is one more reason why good citizens should insist with all their might on the preservation of peace. We owe all our currency troubles to the changes in our Constitution caused by the civil war. Our children may have to charge many foreign troubles to the constitutional changes which would not have taken place had it not been for the war in which we are now engaged.

THE GOVERNMENT LOAN.

As an experiment in a "popular loan," the Government's offer of $200,000,000 3 per cents, which closed a week ago, has undoubtedly succeeded. The statement of the Treasury authorities that a thousand million dollars have been tendered is of itself not so significant as might be imagined; because, as most people are aware, the largest bids are submitted in behalf of syndicates whose members have forwarded other bids on individual account. Moreover, as happens with every public loan where oversubscriptions are anticipated, a large part even of the individual bidders have asked for three or four times as much as they expect to get, reckoning that they will thus fare better on a pro-rata scaling down of bids on the allotment.

The really significant fact, however, lies in the Treasury's announcement that practically the entire loan will be covered by bids of individuals, the corporations getting the bonds, as a rule, only at second hand. No doubt a part of these heavy individual applications have been encouraged by the fact that while the Government offered the 3 per cents at par, bids of 102½ were made in the open market for the bonds "when issued." Supposing that the whole loan could have been disposed of at that sum, it will appear that the Government has sacrificed several millions by fixing its issue price at par. But it must be remembered, on the other hand, that the $50,000,000 5 per cent. loan of February, 1894, was tendered at a minimum price, which, as the Treasury pointed out, was the equivalent of a 3 per cent. bond at par, and that it was only with the greatest difficulty that the loan was floated, even with the aid of syndicates. Nor did this loan, when floated, sell appreciably above the minimum issue price. Therefore the present oversubscription on the basis of 3 per cent. is pretty conclusive proof, first of the better position of the investing public, and second of the improvement in the public credit.

As regards the financial management of the loan, the present condition of the money market is witness to the foresight and sagacity of the Treasury. To withdraw suddenly from the channels of trade such a sum of money as $200,000,000 would disturb in the most embarrassing way the financial situation. Such a withdrawal seemed to be unnecessary, because the single purpose of the pending loan was to provide against the continuing deficit on war account. There could be no advantage in suddenly heaping up an enormous money fund at Washington, removed entirely from the use of trade, only to throw it gradually back again on the market dur-

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ing the progress of the war. Obviously, then, the end to be achieved was for the Treasury to acquire the title to such money, but to withdraw it from its usual depositories only as fast as it was needed for disbursements.

This was not a simple task, because in the nature of things some arbitrary date or dates must be fixed for subscription to the loan, and in this country the Government's defective banking facilities make it extremely difficult to keep its surplus on the open market until required for use. Even to deposit the entire sum with national banks would have been impracticable, because such deposits must themselves be secured by other Government bonds placed by the banks in the hands of the Treasury; and the supply of such outstanding bonds is limited.

The problem has been met in a way which the present unruffled condition of the money market proves to be as effective as it is ingenious. The Treasury's plan of five equal instalment payments, forty days apart, practically guarantees that the war deficit will merely be met as it arises. The money already paid in against the small subscriptions (where the full amount is required at once) has raised the Treasury's balance to the figure recorded at the opening of the war. There remains to be subscribed, against the larger bids, something less than $150,000,000, and payment of this amount is distributed by the circular over the next five months. But the Treasury's revenue deficit, at the present rate, is averaging at least $30,000,000 monthly; so that five months would apparently use up all the proceeds of the loan, leaving both Government and money market, at the close, where they were before the war. With payments made in these widely separate instalments, the use of Government bank depositories is easy, and it is reasonable to expect that no part of the loan will henceforth be withdrawn from the use of trade. The proceeds will continue to be loaned by the banks to business interests until the Treasury needs them for its own expenses; withdrawn and disbursed again by the Government, they will return to the normal banking channels.

It is, of course, a matter of mere conjecture how far this $200,000,000 loan will serve to meet the extraordinary expenses of the war. The answer to this question depends, not only on the area and duration of the conflict, but on the productiveness of the new war taxes. It is somewhat significant that the Treasury returns of revenue and expenditure for the first fortnight in July, while showing an increase over the corresponding period last month of six millions in the receipts, reported also an increase in the expenses for the period of no less than eight millions; so that the average daily deficit is considerably larger than it was before the new taxes went into operation. Payment of mid-year interest and pensions has, of course, considerably swelled the July expense account; but it is noticeable also that disbursements for the army, which were $4,605,000 in the first two weeks of May, and $7,620,000 for the same period of June, rose before the middle of July to $10,640,000. With the various military preparations under way, it can hardly be expected that the ratio of deficit in current revenue will be reduced. In short, the extraordinary taxes and the loan will together serve, in all probability, only to keep the Government's finances on an even keel.

TAXATION OF COLLEGE PROPERTY.

The recent decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in the case of Williams College, and the attempt to tax the property of Yale University in New Haven, are events of much gravity. It is argued with some plausibility that it is proper to tax college property which produces an income when that property is not used directly for college purposes. But it is evident that the distinction has no substantial basis. The income of the college, from whatever source, is applied to its educational purposes, and it is immaterial, from that point of view, whether the property is used directly for these purposes or not. In other words, the practical result is the same whether taxes are levied on a college dormitory or lecture-room, or on a store owned and rented by the college, the income derived from which is applied to the payment of teachers' salaries. There may be substantial reasons for taxing such rented real estate, but, of course, the income applicable to educational purposes is thereby reduced.

As a matter of fact it has been the general rule, acquiesced in by the colleges, to tax lands owned by them when not included in the college grounds or occupied by students or members of the faculty. Under the supposed authority of the Williams College decision a number of assessors in Massachusetts have this year proceeded to tax houses occupied by college presidents, students' dormitories, playgrounds, infirmaries, and refectories for poor students. In some cases the houses occupied by college professors have been taxed, although they were within the college enclosure; it being claimed that such houses were used for private and not for public or charitable purposes. Mr. Samuel Hoar, appearing before the Legislature in behalf of the Massachusetts General Hospital, has pointed out that on this principle the dwelling-houses of the resident physicians, the dormitories for nurses, and the porter's lodge belonging to that institution would all be taxable. He contends that this principle is contrary to law, and not asserted by the decision in the Williams College case. The officers of Harvard University have taken steps to decide this point, by appealing from their assessment, and a case has been made up for presentation to the Supreme Court, which will finally settle the question. But the question of public policy involved is of more general importance than the construction of a particular statute.

The question may be sharply defined by a comparison. We may assume that the work accomplished by the Massachusetts General Hospital is not only a benevolent but an absolutely essential work. If no private individuals undertook this work, the Government would have to undertake it. But if the Government undertook it, the absurdity of levying taxes on the buildings of the hospital would be obvious. Even the wayfaring man could see that in order to pay these taxes other taxes must be levied if the work of the hospital was to go on without interruption. Moreover, if the hospital was managed by Government, the managers would be salaried officers appointed by the Legislature according to established political custom. But under private management no salaries are paid, and the managers have no inducement to assume their responsibilities except devotion to the public welfare. The expense of maintaining the hospital would, therefore, be greater, and experience is conclusive that the management would be inferior. It is easy to see which system would be preferred by politicians; but it is difficult to see how the public can have any hesitation in the matter. The hideous abuses that have taken place in the city hospitals in New York ought to warn its poor of the nature of the tender mercies of politicians.

The case of the college differs in no essential point from that of the hospital. If private benevolence did not establish colleges, the State would have to establish them, and it is speaking within bounds to say that the colleges under private management are better than those under Government management. Those State universities which have the largest element of private management are the best, as in Michigan, and those, as in Kansas, in which the Legislature takes an active part, are discredited. No one thinks of imposing taxes on these State institutions, and a very little reflection should be sufficient to convince people that if it is desirable to establish colleges it is absurd to levy taxes on them. The public pays taxes in order to support a system of public schools. If private persons relieve the public from this burden by their benevolence, it seems unreasonable for the public to retort by imposing taxes on the fund which has alleviated taxation.

The claim is made by some municipal governments that the local burdens of

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taxation are increased by the exemption of college property. This claim may be conclusively disposed of by asking the people of Williamstown or Amherst if they regard the existence of the colleges in those towns as detrimental. What would these towns have amounted to had the colleges not been located there? What would they amount to if the colleges were removed? If the colleges have increased the population and wealth of the communities in which they are situated, it is certainly a short-sighted policy for such communities to do anything to impair their usefulness. The inconsistency and incongruity of such a policy are well brought out by an illustration employed by Mr. Hoar. In the town of Concord, he says, the State has built a reformatory. The real estate of this institution is valued at $1,285,000, and it is, of course, exempt from taxation, the other real estate in the town being assessed at $2,808,000. The town of Amherst has $2,487,000 of taxed real estate, and Amherst College has $500,000 of exempt real estate. The figures for Williamstown and Williams College are not very different. Is the lot of Concord more desirable than that of Amherst and Williamstown? But the citizens of Concord do not demand that the State Reformatory be taxed; nor would the people of Amherst and Williamstown on sober reflection desire that their colleges should be managed by the Legislature. They would consider that the tax exemptions from which they have been deluded into imagining they now suffer, would then be increased, while the standing of the colleges would inevitably be lowered. The interest of all classes of the people against the politicians is so clear in this instance that it ought not to be difficult to establish it.

A DOUBLE SYSTEM OF LAND TITLES.

According to the Chicago *Tribune*, a good deal of dissatisfaction is felt in Illinois over the adjournment of the Supreme Court of that State without disposing of the "Torrens law" question. The law was approved on May 1 of last year; it was submitted to a popular vote in the county in which Chicago lies in June, 1897, and received a majority of the votes cast. The question was raised as to its constitutionality, and this question was argued last year. There is certainly some reason for disappointment that the court should have found itself unable to decide the question. The only constitutional issue ever raised about the system, so far as we know, was that of the performance of judicial duties by a ministerial officer in the Registry of Deeds; but this is an obstacle which the Legislature was supposed in its latest enactment to have surmounted. It is certainly one in its nature not insurmountable, either by law or by constitutional amendment, for at the worst the judicial duties under the Torrens system may be given to one person, and the ministerial to others, and if it should turn out that the Legislature of Illinois in this case has not succeeded in accomplishing its task, another attempt will no doubt be made. The matter is not of local concern only: the Legislature of Massachusetts recently passed a law for the introduction of the Torrens system in that State. It is as applicable to one State as to another.

The present condition of land titles in the United States is far from perfect, and is the outgrowth of a system peculiar to this country. It is a double system, while in all other countries there is but one. In England the antique régime of private titles without any registration made it impossible to find out under what title a man held possession until he had placed his title deeds in your hands or produced them in court. On the Continent, there is to be found some scheme of registration like our own, but probably nothing equal to it in uniformity and simplicity. When the American system of a county record first became known to the world, it was hailed as a new proof of our ingenuity and of our success in introducing simplicity into the law. It made every transaction relating to land public, and, by the simple device of giving to recorded deeds the effect of "notice" to all subsequent purchasers, it rendered the record title perfectly safe. It was a system which almost seemed to render it possible to dispense with lawyers and law, and there are still places in the United States (mainly, we are sorry to say, in the country districts), where excellent conveyancers are to be found, who have never been brought up to the bar at all, who will work for the wages of a carpenter or bricklayer, and have all the principal titles of their county at their fingers' ends. Indeed, in the country some persons do not go beyond the Register of Deeds, but take the examination of his clerks and his voucher as sufficiently conclusive.

Unfortunately, this ideal state of affairs seems to have been adapted only to thinly settled, rural communities, or to what used to be considered cities. Since our civilization has become mainly urban, we have found defects in our land-title system, the nature of which may be ascertained and understood by any one who will take the trouble to read the advertisements of one of the new title companies, which commends itself to the public by publishing awful examples of what happens to those who rely on the old American systems—how (not to go into technical details) one poor wretch has been turned out of house and home by the mistake of a name; how another has been done out of a fortune by the intervention in the chain of title of a "man of straw"; how a third has been brought to destruction through the existence of an unsuspected lunatic or infant, who, after the lapse of half a century, has suddenly made his appearance, *compos mentis*, or of mature age, to assert his rights. The worst of these stories is that they are true, and they consequently cause alarm among the holders of titles.

To dispel these fears, and give absolute security to holders of land, the title companies offer title insurance, and this title insurance is based on a new system of private registration, in which the history of the piece of land transferred is traced. The title companies invest their capital in a reëxamination of all the land titles in a given locality, and as a result are able to insure them. By this means they have greatly reduced the cost of title examination, and introduced title insurance. This is probably as ingenious a device for getting over the difficulties presented by the growth of the American system as could be imagined, but it is not the Torrens system.

The Torrens system makes the State the absolute guarantor of all titles, and thus the purchaser is secure, not merely of the value of his land, but of the land itself. Although introduced originally in one of the English colonies, in which all land titles were of very recent date, there is no difficulty in introducing it anywhere, as is proved by the success of the title-insurance companies; it merely carries their work one step further. It is entirely a permissive system—that is, no landholder is compelled to bring his land within it unless he desires to do so—and its advocates rely entirely on its intrinsic superiority to the present double system, half worked by the State and half by private corporations, to secure its general introduction.

There is only one reason that we know of that can be suggested for thinking that the Torrens system is beyond our reach, and that is the incompetency, inefficiency, and, possibly, corruption existing in many of the registries. It is said that "searchers" and copyists may be appointed, not because they are qualified by experience, but because they are dependents of Tammany Hall or some other local machine; that the Register himself, or the judicial officer who is to take his place, may be one of the Boys. The argument, however, if valid, goes too far, for these are among the evils from which the present system suffers. Even the title companies get the raw material for their elaborate compilations from the Register's office. Those who have given attention to the subject and who know the high qualifications required for the person placed at the head of the Torrens machinery, wherever it is introduced, are inclined to think that the change would make it impossible to fill this new office with any mere politician, and thus probably

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result in helping to take it altogether out of politics. This is a question which every community must decide for itself, and those interested in the matter in other cities can well afford to await the result of the experiment in Chicago, where there certainly cannot be said to be any undue haste in perfecting the necessary legal machinery.

THE BLACK ELECTION LAW.

The more Gov. Black's election law is examined the worse it appears. While pretending to be a bi-partisan measure, it is really quite the opposite. Thus, it provides that the Superintendent, "whenever he deems it necessary, may appoint without nomination, and at pleasure remove, not more than one hundred additional deputies to be employed by him in enforcing the provisions of this act." Every one of these men may be a Republican. It provides also that all deputies "shall be subject to the direction and control of the State Superintendent," who can remove them at pleasure, and assign them to duty as he wishes. All these provisions concentrate power in the hands of the Superintendent, who is to be a partisan Republican. And yet the Governor says that the measure is a necessity because Tammany has violated the bi-partisan spirit of the election laws, which he is determined to uphold!

Again, there is a provision which gives the election deputies superior police powers over the regular city police, making it a felony for the latter to hinder such deputies in their work or to refuse to assist them on demand, punishable by imprisonment for not more than three years and forfeiture of office. The possibilities of trouble in this provision are boundless. Imagine what would happen in one of the east-side election districts were the special deputies to try to oppose the "will of the people" about the polling-place, and to assert their right to supersede and direct the regular police. They would be given what the Boys call a "whirl" from which they would not recover till the returns were in and counted. It is folly to assume that the regular police force is going to yield its authority to such a harum-scarum, undisciplined force as those deputies will be, or that disorderly people about the polls are going to respect their authority. Nothing save disorder and conflict can ensue, under cover of which the fraudulent voting can be carried on more easily than would otherwise be the case.

It is greatly to be desired that the Democrats should raise the question of the constitutionality of the Black election law at once. If it can be so hung up in the courts that it cannot be applied to this year's elections, what now seems to be a serious menace to the public peace on election day will be avoided. The Governor has taken the course which is most surely adapted to cause trouble by selecting as the head of his special election machinery the late Chief of Police, Mr. McCullagh. He thus opposes the deposed Chief to the new Tammany Chief, who succeeded him, giving McCullagh superior powers over Devery and his men whenever it shall please him to exercise them. From this point of view, the appointment of McCullagh is the very one which should not have been made; and if the Governor were not completely blinded by partisanship, he would have recognized that fact. If he wished to cause rioting at the polls, he could not have taken steps better calculated to cause it.

Ex-Senator Hill, quick to improve the opportunity, is out with a tirade against the law which is as violent and artificial in its virtuous indignation as the Governor's special message was. When such a man comes to the defence of pure elections against attacks upon them by Republicans, it is extremely difficult for honest men to take either side in the controversy. When Mr. Hill denounces the measure as "an attack upon Tammany Hall Democracy," and predicts that it will on that account not only unite all Democratic factions, but "arouse a spirit of indignation among fair-minded men of all parties," he simply causes the "fair-minded men of all parties" to take a more favorable view of the law than they had been able to take before he spoke. What he would do with elections if he were to have his way with them we know from long experience. He fought every election-reform measure for years while he was Governor, and crowned his record with the Maynard conspiracy. The less uproar he creates about Gov. Black's conduct, the better chance will there be for the Democratic party to arouse indignation because of it.

That the law is as mischievous as it is unjustifiable, no man can question. Even so excellent Republican authority as the *Tribune* recognizes its defects, and protests earnestly against the conduct of its party's representatives in embodying them in law. That the law will accomplish anything whatever in the direction of pure elections is a manifest impossibility. It will enable both political machines to make the State pay for their gangs of workers about the polls, and this is likely to be the most formidable obstacle in the way of its repeal; indeed, we venture to give warning to the "fair-minded men of all parties" that Tammany's zeal for carrying the law into the courts at once may be cooled by this feature of it. "Why not let the law stand," Tammany statesmen may ask, "so long as we can get several hundred of our workers upon the State pay-roll during registration and election, and can trust to the power of the local police to keep the law from doing us any harm?" Argument of this kind is very powerful in Tammany, and it is not improbable that the Governor had faith in its persuasive influence when he was constructing his bill.

Decidedly the most pernicious influence of the law lies in the fact that it not only makes the State pay for two gangs of machine workers, but gives them admission to the polling-places, even to the precincts within the guard-rails. As these deputies are all to be partisans, selected by the political machines of the two parties, they will be party workers in the full sense of the term, and their admission to the polling-places will, consequently, be a virtual repeal of one of the most beneficent provisions of the secret ballot law under which our elections have been conducted during the last eight years. That law forbids this kind of political vermin to come within 100 feet of the polling-places, and under its operation they have gradually retired entirely from their former business of bribing and bulldozing. Now Gov. Black, in the name of pure elections, brings them back again into the innermost precincts of the polling-places, and makes the State pay them for their services. This is nothing less than a crime against honest elections, and it should deprive the Governor of the support of every honest citizen.

A NEW WAY TO SEE OLD MASTERS.

LONDON, July 1, 1898.

I foresee the day when the bicycle will be as essential a factor in the "new art criticism" as the camera. The modern student has told us that the perfection to which his scientific, or comparative, study of art has been brought is in a large measure due to the railroad and the increased ease in getting from one gallery to another. But surely the independence of cycling insures less distraction, and the loss of speed is compensated by the chance to stop at places in between—for instance, at the little towns and villages of Germany and Italy, where, I understand, so many an unsuspected masterpiece has been discovered, so many a link in a long chain of evidence that proves a painter, never heard of before, to be the most important master in the art annals of his country!

But, seriously, my own experience has convinced me that the visit to the Dutch galleries is best made on a bicycle. There is no more beautiful way of journeying than by cycle, there are no more interesting collections in the world than the Dutch. And so, by taking your machine to Holland and wheeling over its brick highways, or along its canals, and stopping in each town on your route an hour, a day, a week, a month, according to its attractions and your time, you combine two of the most delightful pursuits of our modern life. For the cycler who measures his pleasure by the ground covered, the distance will seem too short. The country is practically all suburbs, and no sooner do the spires and windmills of one town sink on the horizon behind you, than those of the next rise on the sky-line

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in front. But if you wish to come to the galleries fresh, you will find this an advantage. Besides, you will want to linger by the way, for the landscape—"the meadows streaked with sunshine and spotted with the cattle, the city twinkling in the distance, the thunder clouds glooming overhead"—is the same that you see in many a Dutch picture, and, somehow, familiar knowledge of their country seems to help you to understand Rembrandt and Hobbema, Ruysdael and Ver Meer, and to bring you into closer sympathy with Franz Hals, Terburgh, and De Hooghe. Fromentin felt that Holland itself was the best of all clues to Dutch art, and even Fromentin must have come to know Holland more intimately had he cycled along its dykes, among its windmills, under its spacious cloud-swept skies.

The perfect season for the journey, of course, is the spring, about Easter, when the fields of tulips lie like gigantic flags on either side the road, and every stolid Dutch cycler you meet has his handlebars wreathed with blossoms, and the air is heavy laden with the perfume of hyacinths. This is the season for Holland, as the time of the rhododendrons is for London, of horse-chestnuts and lilacs for Paris. But the riding is good throughout the summer, when, after all, you have a chance of fewer showers and more sunshine. And the autumn, too, has its possibilities, and this year, it must be remembered, there will be opened at Amsterdam in September what promises to be the most wonderful exhibition of Rembrandts ever made anywhere. Whoever proposes to go to it cannot do better than follow in my wheel tracks. The galleries on the way will be an appropriate introduction or prelude.

I made the journey from London by Harwich and Rotterdam—the Hook of Holland route. You land while the morning is still young and the men and maid-servants are still busy washing the pavements in good Philadelphia fashion, or, rather, in the fashion Philadelphia borrowed from Holland. I had not too much time at my disposal, and I was able to economize it at Rotterdam, where the gallery, though it contains a few paintings and some drawings and prints of interest, is comparatively insignificant. The masterpieces of Holland are not here, nor has the gallery itself the charm, the beauty, the architectural and historical value of the museums of Leyden and Haarlem. An early start, therefore, is possible without scruple, though the loss would be yours should you not stay in the town long enough to see how it is dominated by its great windmill, how picturesque are some of its remote canals.

From Rotterdam to The Hague is a short afternoon's run. A fairly good road goes with the canal to Delft, one of the prettiest, daintiest of all Dutch towns, and another good stretch connects Delft with The Hague, which, in its crowded, noisy main street, where you cannot ride for the people, who walk wherever and how they choose, you think (with Thackeray) "the neatest, gayest little city"; which, in its deserted squares and alleys, you find the town of perfect silence and profound repose it seemed to Fromentin. But The Hague, if you have come to see the pictures, means in anticipation two things only: Rembrandt's "Lesson in Anatomy" and Paul Potter's "Bull." I know of nothing more amusing, in the many contradictions of art criticism, than the contrast between the delight both gave to Thackeray, the amateur, and the disappointment they occasioned to Fromentin, the artist. It is so hard nowadays to see pictures as they really are, and not as tradition has painted them, that we ought to be all the more grateful to Fromentin for having made the task easier for us in Holland. He had the courage to express his disappointment, and I think few honest lovers of art to-day will not share it with him. A vigorous study, a powerful work for a very young man, "The Bull," with its brutal realism, may be. But a picture—no. I have never had a moment's pleasure in it save when I saw it in Mr. Cole's wood-engraving, which seems to retain only its fine qualities. Nor is "The Lesson in Anatomy" a picture. I would not go as far as Fromentin and call it commonplace. Nothing Rembrandt painted could be quite that. But, like the "Bull," it lacks unity; the heads, finely painted as each is, have no pictorial relation; the foreshortening of the dead body is obtrusive in its violence. Had you never seen a Rembrandt, its vigor, its skill, its daring might take your breath away. But compare it with the Rembrandts at Amsterdam, in the Louvre, in the London National Gallery, or, for that matter, with the others at The Hague (for the interest here is not confined to "The Bull" and "The Lesson in Anatomy"). There are several Rembrandts not to be ignored in any serious appreciation of the painter, and, as it is, the most impatient cycler cannot miss his two little pictures of his mother and of a man laughing. And I think, of the other work at The Hague, few can ever forget the fine view of Delft by Ver Meer, in which you see the inspiration of James Maris and the modern school; nor the churches of Van Vliet and De Witte, without whom one wonders if Bosboom would have been; nor the portraits by Franz Hals, overshadowed necessarily in the next stage of the journey at Haarlem; nor the Terburgh; nor the Ruysdaels—altogether enough great and beautiful things to prolong the visit to The Hague for many days.

But when you start again, you will be tempted to think the pleasure on the road as keen as the pleasure in the gallery. There is no more charming ride than from The Hague to Haarlem, with a rest by the way at Leyden. On the outskirts of the capital is the beautiful wood where, when I wheeled through it, the spring was covering the trees with its pale-green leaves, and the ground beneath with its first white blossoms. And beyond, on all sides, everywhere, are the motives of the pictures you have just left. "The country is an etching by Rembrandt. Here is a bit of horizon by Paul Potter with a herd; there a great sky by Ruysdael," or an avenue of trees by Hobbema. And far too soon—it is the only drawback to the journey—you are in Leyden, with its memories of Rembrandt, and its delightful little museum, where the big Regent pictures seem in such perfect decorative keeping. I think it is at this museum that you are first impressed with the dignity and stateliness of these groups, so characteristic of Dutch art. Even when by unknown or unnamed artists, they are always painted in accordance with a certain formula that has a decorative quality as splendid as the convention of the Venetians. I remember at Leyden, particularly, a portrait group of a family, by J. Van der Does, that would simply seem stupendous anywhere save in Holland.

At Haarlem one is conscious only of Franz Hals. He towers in the Gallery as Velasquez does in the Prado. He carries one's admiration by storm. His great swaggering burghers, his Arquebusiers of St. George and St. Andrew, in their doublets and broad sashes and feathered hats, feasting as riotously as the modern members of a London City company, are as beautiful, as elegant, as really great and inspired as the Madonnas of the Florentines or the pagan allegories of the Venetians. Thought is what some critics have found wanting in the work of Franz Hals; he is no thinker, they say. But why should we ask for thought—another word for literary sentiment—from a man who gives us life itself, life in its utmost exuberance, and who paints with a power, a vivacity, a knowledge, a distinction before which one can but take off one's hat in wonder and respect? One looks at the walls covered with the Regent pictures, joyous, animated, full of variety and color, first, perhaps, in sheer amazement at the force of the man, and then with something of exultation in their manly beauty and dignity. I defy any one to turn critic when face to face with them. One may have one's preferences, and though I am told it savors of heresy, I confess mine for those two wonderful groups of his last years, the Governors of the hospitals for old men and women. It seems to me that in his treatment of the five aged, wrinkled women, so elegant, despite or because of their sombre black gowns and deep white collars and prim caps, so calm and so gentle and yet so stately, in color and complexion and character, each face differing so entirely from the others, there is not only more atmosphere than in the earlier pictures, but a fine emotion not common with him. I would not willingly miss the pictures at Amsterdam—there is a thrill of gayety in the very memory of the portraits of himself and his wife; scattered here and there in other galleries are canvases almost as remarkable. But you cannot understand the full extent of his genius until you have been at Haarlem. There, he does not allow you to see anything else, though the entire collection abounds in interest, and the town hall turned into a museum is a building not to be dismissed with indifference.

From Haarlem to Amsterdam you can keep with the canal all the way, and I have no doubt at times the ride has the charm of the rest of the little journey. But for me, unfortunately, it meant rain in torrents. All those big clouds that sweep with such good effect across the skies of James Maris seemed to break over my poor head, and I arrived in Amsterdam a limp, drenched rag, fit object for the laughter and ridicule of the people, whose predominating virtue is not politeness. The average Dutchman—the average Dutch boy, more especially—is as rude as the Dutch weather, and if you cannot stand storms and showers, if you shrink from ridicule, you must leave your bicycle at home and go to Amsterdam in orthodox tourist fashion.

In Amsterdam, the charm of the city to me is in the quiet streets, where, at the windows of the prim, neat brick houses, women, with faces made placid by leisure, sit looking out, for all the world as in West Chester or other old Quaker towns of Pennsylvania; and the wonder of its galleries is Rembrandt's "Syndics." For the single portraits at the Rijks Museum and the Six Gallery one is well prepared. London alone,

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with its national and private collections, leaves one little to learn of the greatness of Rembrandt as a portrait-painter. Nor am I forgetting the "Night Watch," perhaps the most bewildering, and inspiring, and disappointing picture in the world. I hesitate to add a word to the mass of criticism and comment already written upon it. If I had but Fromentin at hand, I should quote his exact words, and so shirk all responsibility. It seems insolent to express a doubt about a work that can make even Van der Helst insignificant. In the room where it hangs the other large Regent pictures cannot but efface themselves. That the composition has always been a riddle, that the light study realistically is incomprehensible, matters little. You may be sure that Rembrandt understood composition and light better than his critics, better than Nature. And, besides, the new and entirely original grouping was doubtless an attempt to break away from the accepted convention that with time threatened to grow formal and lifeless in those huge canvases.

It may be that in saying this I have really explained why a picture so powerful, so impressive, should not be altogether successful. You feel in it the experiment. It has not the completeness, the serenity, the dignity, the absolute finality of the "Syndics." This is the masterpiece of Amsterdam—as perfect, as beyond criticism, as the "Meninas" of Velasquez, the "Sacred and Profane Love" of Titian, the "Concert" of Giorgione. I have heard it seriously argued by an artist that no really great, no really perfect, picture can contain more than one figure. But before the "Syndics" his argument must fall to the ground. Rembrandt made no new departure in the grouping; so far as this goes, it differs slightly from many of the Regent pictures. But in the painting of each figure, in the harmony of the group, in the treatment of such lesser details as the pattern of the tablecloth or the panelling on the wall, in the portrayal of character, it is supreme.

The last paragraph of so general an article is no place to discuss, or, indeed, to refer to, the other chief treasures of Amsterdam. And, besides, just now the immediate fact to be emphasized is that it is in this town, where already several of Rembrandt's most important works are found, the coming loan collection will be held. When there is such a nucleus to begin with, some idea can be had of the promised splendor of the September exhibition.

I might add, for the benefit of the cycler, that the return to Rotterdam can be made by the roundabout way of Zaandam, with its hundreds of windmills, the high dyke along the Zuyder Zee, to Hoorn, and so back, by Alkmaar, or else southward from Amsterdam, by Utrecht and Dordrecht. And so delightful is the little journey, from beginning to end, that were there no galleries to visit, I should still recommend it. N. N.

Correspondence.

BI-PARTISANSHIP IN CINCINNATI.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The "reformers" have possession of the city of Cincinnati. They succeeded in getting the Legislature that went out in May to pass a number of reform measures, the chief aim of which was to sweep away at one blow the old Board of Administration (the local governing body) and to enable the reformers, through their agent the Mayor, to appoint a board of their own choosing. The new board, the B. C. A.—dubbed by the newspapers the A. B. C. Board—while perhaps not as bad as the old one, consists of men who, as statesmen, are by no means of the Gladstonian type. As soon as the board was appointed under the so-called "ripper" legislation, an action in quo warranto was instituted to try their title to the office.

The act contained this clause: "Two of such members, *each of different political parties*, shall be designated to serve one year, two each *of different political parties* for two years," etc. The attack on the law was made chiefly on this score, that it is not in the power of the Legislature to restrict eligibility to office to members of a political party. If the law had read "members, no two of the same political party," there could have been no exception to its constitutionality, and so the Supreme Court held. That part of the law which restricts the choice of the Mayor to those who may chance to be members of a political party, is adjudged to be contrary to the spirit of republican government, and therefore unconstitutional. The Court saves the A. B. C. Board, however. It holds the body of the law valid, and simply strikes out the restrictive clause. This enables the Mayor to make choice from any body of men he pleases, and the mere fact that half of the new body happen to be Democrats and half Republicans does not invalidate the board as at present constituted. But the outcome is rather hard on the Mayor, for he might have appointed men all of his own party, though it need hardly be said that, with the dear, good reformers, party principle (which, translated, means a place in the public service) is of no particular brand. B. G.

Cincinnati, July 12, 1898.

FEDERAL LAWS HELD UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I have not seen Mr. Hoar's address before the Virginia Bar Association, but your editorial article upon it in your issue of July 14 shows that he has fallen into an error which seems to be not unusual. Marbury vs. Madison was not the only case of a Federal law held unconstitutional before 1864. Mr. Coxe, in his 'Judicial Power and Unconstitutional Legislation' (Introduction, p. 8 *et seqq.*), examined this subject, and it is from him that I take the following statements:

The Reporter's Appendix to 131 U. S. Reports (pages ccxxxv. *et seqq.*) contains a list of laws held unconstitutional, and cites *three* such decisions by the Supreme Court, which are more or less distinctly in point; but the most remarkable thing is that both the Reporter and the Supreme Court (which seems to have revised the Appendix)—as well as now Mr. Hoar—have omitted the case of Dred Scott vs. Sandford. This case, though it has been a subject of endless controversy, did certainly decide a Federal statute unconstitutional, and the statute was, moreover, one not relating (as those concerned in all the earlier cases had done) to the judicial department in particular.

Yours, etc., Wm. M. Meigs.

Philadelphia, July 15, 1898.

THE BRYN MAWR ENGLISH EXAMINATION.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the *Nation* for June 9, Mr. Henry S. Pancoast criticises as "a positive breach of contract" the spring examination in English for entrance to Bryn Mawr College. The question proposed in the examination reads as follows:

"Give a short account in chronological order of the chief periods in the history of English literature and the chief authors in each period, in so far as such an account may be collected from the books prescribed for this examination."

To his grave accusation Mr. Pancoast has been led—as every reader of his letter must have noticed—by substituting for the only interpretation of which the question admits as it stands written, one of his own making, and then arguing that familiarity with the reading required by the college in preparation for this examination does not enable the student to answer the question so interpreted.

The "required knowledge," he defines as an "exact chronological knowledge of the chief periods of English literature and of the chief authors in each period"; but certainly the question as it stands asks only for such knowledge as may be gained from the prescribed reading. And although he claims that the reading does not contain "such an account," a moment's thought would have shown him that it must contain "such an account as may be collected from" it, however meagre or extended that account may be.

The reading itself has evidently been selected with a view to illustrating the representative periods in the development of English literature; and there can certainly be no reason why the student should not be told (if the questions are not suggested by the reading itself) something of the relation of the authors to one another, of each to his age, and even of the literary significance of the age.

Keeping literally, however, to the words of the requirement, what knowledge is gained from familiarity with the selections alone? In one of two essays on the list of reading, Matthew Arnold reviews Mr. Stopford Brooke's 'Primer of English Literature'; he reviews it in the order in which it is written—of course a chronological order. He comments very briefly on Mr. Brooke's treatment of "English literature from the Conquest to Chaucer"; of Chaucer himself; of the Elizabethan age, and Spenser and Shakspere; and of Milton. After Milton we have his comments on the eighteenth century in its relation to the development of English prose. The arrangement of periods of literature in the 'Primer' is then criticised, and the remaining nine or ten paragraphs of the essay deal with Mr. Brooke's treatment of the representative authors in these periods.

Add to this Arnold's essay on Gray, also required. The candidates, having been asked to read "The Sir Roger de Coverley Papers," know something of Addison, and are intelligently interested, therefore, in the development of English prose, and in Arnold's discussion of the task of the eighteenth century which forms so important a part of this second essay. This discussion emphasizes, moreover, and brings out perhaps a little more clearly by contrast, the poetic charac-

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ter of the Age of Elizabeth and of the early nineteenth century.

The knowledge thus gained of the stages in the development of English literature is slight and elementary enough, to be sure, but it is nevertheless a knowledge of chief periods and of the chief authors in these periods. And unless some candidate should prove that with such knowledge, and with the required understanding of "grammar, punctuation, and general arrangement," she yet failed to pass the examination, may we not assume that Bryn Mawr has been consistent and just in the interpretation of this question?

There are grounds on which objections might be made to the question, but they are not those on which Mr. Pancoast has based his complaint. It might be said that while fair and possible, the question is unsatisfactory in that it is too much a question of fact, and has little or none of the suggestive character of the questions in former examinations for entrance to Bryn Mawr. And it is this spirit of suggestion, this appeal to the candidate's ability to think for herself, that characterizes the ideal training in English for college. For the point to be determined ought to be, not how many facts a student shall know, or how much she shall have read, but rather, how she has read it, what she thinks of it, and how clearly, forcibly, and grammatically she is able to express what she thinks.

The school-girl between fifteen and seventeen years old has discrimination and power of appreciation. She has also ideas of her own, and these are developed by exercise. Crude they may be, amusing they may be, clever they often are. But whatever the character of her thoughts on any subject, she should be encouraged to formulate and express them, to arrange her ideas logically, to explain and defend her own point of view. Such training will be helpful to her in all her work through life.

And this is the training emphasized by the requirement of the Bryn Mawr matriculation examination in English. It is to be hoped that nothing will ever happen to alter the character of that requirement.

HELEN J. ROBINS.

PHILADELPHIA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Pancoast's letter in the *Nation* of June 9 concerning the Bryn Mawr examinations in English is particularly interesting to teachers of English preparing pupils for those examinations. There were two parts to the composition examination, (*a*) which Mr. Pancoast quoted, and which was based on the list of books in the Bryn Mawr catalogue, and (*b*) based on the list made by the New England Commission. The following is the second part, with which this letter is concerned:

"(*b*) Give a brief account of Burke's character and temper as a statesman, and of the considerations that in political matters most weighed with him, in so far as such an account may be collected from the speech on conciliation."

The "character and temper" might be dealt with with comparative ease, but to expect an average girl of sixteen to eighteen years to write intelligently and logically of "the considerations that in political matters most weighed with him in so far as such an account, etc.," seems to me absurd. Such a question, to the average sub-freshman, would be not only "staggering," as was suggested in the *Nation* of June 30, but paralyzing. It is unreasonable to require such critical ability of young girls as is expected not until the junior year in college. Every college professor knows that the first two college years are taken up largely for the average girl—we must consider the average—in learning how to grasp facts readily and to assimilate them. The girl is not then trained to judge and criticise, because, in the first place, she has not the material for such a process. Criticism implies a background of facts by which to measure and compare. Is it not unreasonable, then, to require a candidate, in her entrance examinations, to display a maturity of mind of which *a priori* she is incapable?

From this special case one is led on to a general consideration which attacks some of the methods in use at Bryn Mawr. If the standard at that college must be "so high," why should not the authorities make it to a degree a graduate college by altogether eliminating freshman work? In that case only girls would go there that wished advanced work—a condition which would exclude the average girl. As the matter stands, girls around Philadelphia select that college because it is near home, and in selecting it they treat it as though it were a college with an ordinary college-entrance standard. The result is that they must "cram," and they are pushed into their freshman year with an impetus from which they never recover. They are worked to death, or else their precocity is developed. The former alternative is lamentable, for nothing can make up for lost health; the latter is abominable. A precocious girl is almost always either a self-conscious bore or a nervous invalid. We do not want precocious girls—we want girls that are developed naturally and in an all-around, womanly fashion. And surely we do not want invalids.

To a careful observer of colleges for women, it cannot but seem that Bryn Mawr aims at a unique position among the colleges, and that her methods are not broad, university methods, such as should obtain in a college like Bryn Mawr. It is surely better to pass well an examination of average difficulty than barely to pass an examination almost beyond a student's power. It is time enough when a girl is in college to find out what she does not know; her entrance examinations should be given her with the opposite aim, in order that she may not be discouraged at the start. I believe this broader method is used by Radcliffe College, and certainly no woman in this country could ask for a higher degree than that of Harvard University.

It would be a pity to believe that a criticism made years ago, when Bryn Mawr was first opened, might still be legitimately advanced now, after the college has had time to adjust itself to its surroundings—a criticism made by a professor then teaching there, viz., that "the course of the freshman year was a course 'on paper,' because the girls were not prepared for the work." If New England schools, public and private—and where are there better schools than in New England?—if New England schools cannot prepare average pupils for those examinations, how much can other schools accomplish?

CAROLYN SHIPMAN.

NANTUCKET, MASS., July 14, 1898.

Notes.

Thomas Whittaker's fall announcements include a library edition of 'Cathedrals of England,' with 168 illustrations by Herbert Railton, in two royal octavo volumes; 'The Romance of Glass-Making: A Sketch of the History of Ornamental Glass,' by Walter Gandy; and 'Frances E. Willard: A Story of a Noble Woman,' by Florence Witts.

A translation of Bull's 'Fridtjof Nansen,' by Mordaunt R. Barnard and Dr. P. Groth, will be issued in September by D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

Still another volume of Victor Hugo's is promised for the early autumn, and there seems no reason to apprehend that the supply of Hugo's works will cease before the demand for them ceases, or even afterwards. The "Master" left behind him a prodigious mass—a sea—of notes, of reminiscences, of scenes from plays, of sketches, and fragments of works. "Océan" was, in fact, the name that he himself applied to these literary remains. In going through them there have been continual surprises and some discoveries. The forthcoming volume of 'Choses Vues' will contain at least three things of a certain importance: reminiscences of the siege of Paris; notes on the Assembly of 1848, recovered by Mme. Lockroy from among the papers of Charles Hugo; and a "True Story" of the execution of Louis XVI. These last pages were written about 1840, and the story was taken down from the lips of an old man who was present at the execution, and whom Hugo met by chance. Of this the *Revue Bleue* remarks, with much justice, that there are few journalists nowadays who would leave for fifty years an interview of such vivid interest at the bottom of a drawer.

We are glad to announce the appearance of the late Prof. George Martin Lane's 'Latin Grammar,' under the supervision of his colleague, Prof. Morris H. Morgan, from the press of the Harpers. Our appraisal of it must wait, but it is easy to see at a glance one distinction which makes the work—severely systematic as it is in presentation—fairly readable; and that is, the idiomatic rendering of the illustrative examples from Latin authors. For this, Prof. Lane had a genius.

From Messrs. Scribner we have the seventh of the eight volumes allotted to Frederick the Great in the beautiful Centenary Edition of Carlyle's Works; and two more volumes in the uniform edition of the Works of James Whitcomb Riley—both of verse, with that mixture of dialect humor and of elevated feeling which alone, among our present generation of poets, suggests the distinction of Lowell. Had Mr. Riley but written less, or suppressed more—he might not have attained to a uniform edition.

Omar has no rest, and on both shores of this continent FitzGerald's transfusion of his Rubáiyát is again brought out in handy form—by William Doxey, San Francisco, in his "Lark Classics," and by Nathan Haskell Dole, Boston. The Californian edition will rank among the best of the minor ones for beauty and carefulness of print. It contains FitzGerald's sketch of Omar, the preface to the third edition, the notes, and some other accompaniments. Mr. Dole's prettily bound book is less attractive on the typographical side, but is unique in facing the English quatrains with a rubricated Latin transla-

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tion by the Oxonian Herbert Wilson Greene. This gives it the quality of a curio. There are no notes or variants.

The sixteenth edition of 'Fenn on the Funds,' the great handbook of public debts, etc., has been prepared by the well-known financial writer, Mr. S. F. Van Oss, and is published at London by Effingham Wilson. The editor's work has consisted principally in bringing the tables and figures down to date, but this, in a work of such magnitude and such completeness, is no slight task.

Some particulars concerning 'Industrial Experiments in the British Colonies of North America' have been gathered by Miss E. L. Lord, and are published by Johns Hopkins University. They make apparent the intimate connection believed to exist between the maintenance of the royal navy and the colonial supplies of such naval stores as pitch, tar, resin, turpentine, and masts; all now as obsolete in naval construction as the colonial governments are in the political world.

The 'Life of David Dudley Field,' by Henry M. Field (Charles Scribner's Sons), is to be regarded as a tribute of fraternal affection rather than as a true biography. Mr. Field's career was in many respects very remarkable, and his abilities were admitted to be of the highest order, but many important events in his career are unmentioned here, and his abilities did not produce the results which his brother naturally attributes to them. We cannot discuss the general question of codifying law, but Mr. Field's attempts in this direction are not generally regarded as so successful as they are represented to be in this book. We would not minimize the results of his arduous labors, or question his disinterestedness in undertaking them, but we must recognize the fact that he was more highly honored by the foreign jurists whom he met at conferences and dinners, where his brilliant qualities were displayed to great advantage, than by his professional brethren in this country who were acquainted with his methods of practice. Such a 'Life' as this may find a place in the family archives, but is calculated to mislead the public, both by its omissions and by its misapprehensions.

The fifth volume of the deservedly renowned series, "La Peinture en Europe," has just appeared, and is even an improvement on the last (treating of Belgium), which we noticed in these columns. The authors, MM. Lafenestre and Richtenberger, have spared no pains in making the new volume, 'La Hollande,' as complete and satisfactory as possible. They have in person visited all the works of art, neglecting none of the private collections abounding in Holland. They have consulted the best authorities, and almost without exception have adopted the best views. Indeed, it is hard to imagine what more, in the way of guidance to pictures, the intelligent traveller could demand than is given him here. The hundred excellent reproductions furnish souvenirs of every real masterpiece in Holland—of such as are in private hands, no less than of those in public galleries. All this for ten francs! We can but pray for a speedy appearance of the succeeding volumes.

In the eighth volume of the 'Land of Sunshine' (Los Angeles), nothing is more striking than the article, "The Prince of Impostors," which tells the story of James Addison Reavis, now an inmate of the New Mexico penitentiary for one of the most extraordinary attempts at land-grabbing ever known. The narrator, Will M. Tipton, played a prominent part in the legal pursuit of this unblushing forger, whose manufactured family portraits pleasantly illustrate the story, along with examples of his skill and audacity in garbling or interpolating.

Ex-Secretary Olney's address on the "International Isolation of the United States" gives the historic stamp to the eighty-first volume of the *Atlantic Monthly* (January-June, 1898). Its view of our mission, "not merely to pose but to act," and our duty, "to shake off the spell of the Washington legend and cease to act the rôle of a sort of international recluse," is conformable with this writer's official part in the war (to give it its true name) with England on behalf of Venezuela. This view is not, as the public knows, shared by his late chief, or by his colleague, ex-Attorney-General Harmon. The *Atlantic*, speaking for itself (or at least anonymously), in an article, "The War with Spain; and After," seems to say ditto to Mr. Olney, but a rider at the end, perhaps by another hand, cries halt. "For the Old World's troubles are not our troubles, nor its tasks our tasks, and we should not become sharers in its jealousies and entanglements."

Mr. Horace E. Scudder's withdrawal from the editorship of the *Atlantic Monthly* is now announced as definitive. While retaining his connection with the house of Houghton, Mifflin & Co., and devoting himself to important literary work, he yields direction of the magazine to Mr. Walter H. Page, who has for the past year had it in charge during Mr. Scudder's absence in Europe.

After the fashion of the day, the *American Historical Review* for July might have had "Spanish Number" stamped upon its forehead. Prof. W. G. Sumner leads off with a renewed study of a very perplexing subject, "The Spanish Dollar and the Colonial Shilling"—*i. e.*, "What ought the Spanish piece of eight to have been, in weight and fineness, according to the mint laws of Spain, when it was adopted into the monetary system of Anglo-America? and what was it in fact by weight and assay?" The examination chimes in with current moralizing on the causes of the decline of Spain, among the chief of which Prof. Sumner reckons the debasement of the vellon (a silver-copper coin created in 1497), "and the incredible confusion of the laws about coinage in the seventeenth century." Prof. F. J. Turner reviews in an interesting manner "The Origin of Genet's Projected Attack on Louisiana and the Floridas," making especially plain the interaction between France and the United States consequent upon our Revolution. This paper again is closely allied with the "Diary and Letters of Henry Ingersoll, Prisoner at Carthagena [Venezuela]," in connection with Miranda's expedition, now first printed. Jefferson, who was thought to have connived at Genet's intrigue, and to have countenanced Miranda's ambition, furnishes a connecting link between these two episodes. He further figures in an unpublished letter to Gen. George Rogers Clark in 1783, sounding him in regard to a trans-Mississippi exploration such as he afterwards commissioned his brother to undertake, with such famous results. President Tyler's flattering review of Fiske's 'Old Virginia' has for an appendix a note from the Hungarian scholar, Lewis L. Kropf, ridiculing Capt. John Smith's pretensions to veracity so far as concerns his exploits in Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia, and taxing him with clumsy forgery in the matter of the grant of arms from the Prince of Transylvania.

In pursuance of the plan of making the *Review* the organ of the American Historical Association, and in return for the subsidy already granted by that body, members are to be supplied gratis with the first and second numbers of volume iv. (volume iii. is just concluded). On the other hand, subscribers not members are urged to enroll themselves as such by paying their three dollars to the Association.

Into the class of the more dainty photographic publications like the *Camera Notes* of this city comes the new Boston venture, *Photo Era*, of which the second number is before us. The form and typography are laudable, and the illustrations excellent—one a landscape print in natural colors.

An interesting but inconclusive and desultory article by Richard M. Meyer, in the June number of *Cosmopolis*, is entitled "Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Tagebuchs." The diary, as he would have it understood, is but little more than a century old. He names as the three great masterpieces of the *genre* the journals of Amiel, Hebbel, and the Goncourts; he rather superfluously defends his exclusion of Marie Bashkirtseff. The art of journal-writing is, he maintains, on the decline, and it is only from England or America that a monumental work of the kind can be expected, for these countries alone are "free from the curse of a hampering model." Dr. Meyer confesses that he knows no journal in English written in the grand style, but surely, with all the limitations of definition, Scott's charming volume is entitled to rank beside the overestimated work of Hebbel, however different in quality. Dr. Meyer is not wholly unacquainted with English literature, for he cites with striking inappropriateness Whistler's 'Gentle Art of Making Enemies,' and he is familiar with Bret Harte's (!) 'Innocents Abroad.' Moreover, his perspective in judging English literature is such that he does not hesitate to pronounce 'A Bad Boy's Diary' "eine prächtige Parodie." In spite, nevertheless, of uncertainty and lack of scientific accuracy, this article is stimulating. In it lies the germ of a scholarly book upon an interesting theme, in which the autobiographical records of strongly individualized characters may be classified, contrasted, and made to throw new light upon the psychological history of the period in which they were set down.

A recent number of the *Berlingske Tidende* of Copenhagen contains an interesting account of the late Prof. Reinhold Mejborg, whose works on early Scandinavian architecture occupy a high place in literature as well as in science. Mejborg was born in Denmark, in 1845. After teaching in the provinces for several years he settled in Copenhagen, where he attracted the favorable attention of Steenstrup. The rest of his life was devoted to his chosen specialty, in connection with which he made frequent journeys through Denmark, Sweden, and North Germany, examining old buildings and questioning peasants about early customs and the significance of obsolete ornaments and utensils. His most important works are 'Communal Buildings,' 1881, 'Old Danish

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Buildings,' 1888, and 'Schleswig Peasant Farms,' 1892. This last book has been translated into German, and has been very favorably received by German scholars. The first two parts of a continuation dealing with Danish peasant farms have been published, and a large quantity of material had been collected, which it is to be hoped will make the completion of the work possible.

The June Bulletin of the New York Public Library is notable for its Calendar of Washington's copy-press letters (236 in number) in the possession of that institution, to which is appended a supplementary list of 440 more in the State Department at Washington; the whole brought together in an index of recipients.

The July Bulletin of the Boston Public Library contains, in addition to the record of the recent accessions, a brief list of the "lighter works of travel and observation" in the Philippine Islands and Cuba. An examination of the classified list of additions to the Library leads us to suggest that a more flexible system should be employed, so as to obviate the necessity of having nine unimportant subdivisions each with only a single title. On the other hand, some classes are too comprehensive. No one, for instance, would look for dog stories, or a book on the speed of a horse, under "Agriculture," or Wordsworth's poems under "Drama."

Speaking of Wordsworth, "Dove Cottage" at Grasmere has lately been richly endowed by Prof. Knight with all his editions of Wordsworth's poems, besides many Wordsworth relics and portraits, sketches and engravings, letters and manuscripts. In acknowledging the gift, the trustees of the national museum, as it must now be called, assured Prof. Knight of the thanks which it would bring him "from all parts of England and the colonies, and from the United States of America," and affirmed that Dove Cottage now occupies, "as a goal of pilgrimage, a place in this country second only to Stratford-on-Avon."

Prof. Petrie's volume on Deshasheh, giving the results of his excavations during 1896-'97 among the remains of the Sixth Dynasty, has been issued in London by the Egypt Exploration Fund. Its distribution to subscribers falls in the fiscal year ending August 1. We may remind our readers that a New York State Branch of the Fund has been organized for convenience of membership and distribution, as well as for the apportionment of archæological objects found, a number of which are already in our Metropolitan Museum. A minimum subscription of five dollars entitles one at pleasure to the publications of the Exploration Fund, the Archæological Survey, or the Græco-Roman Branch. The first volume of the last-named division will appear this year, and will contain some 300 quarto pages of facsimiles and text of papyrus fragments from Oxyrrhynchus. The work of the Fund is notoriously important, and is sagaciously conducted. The Secretary of the New York Branch is Charles R. Gillett, D.D., No. 700 Park Avenue, New York city; the Treasurer, Andrew Mills, No. 341 Bowery.

—The meeting of the American Library Association, just held at Lakewood-on-Chautauqua, was equal to the best of the previous twenty-two conventions. Mr. Putnam of the Boston Public Library made an admirable President, conducting the meeting with energy, firmness, and tact. Miss Hazeltine, librarian of neighboring Jamestown, as inspirer of the local committees, had provided for everything with such foresight and efficiency that all material arrangements seemed to go of themselves. The gathering was more numerous than ever before, over 500, and an unusually large proportion attended every session, possibly the effect in part of the studious air of Chautauqua. The programme was, as usual, too full; nevertheless, by skilful management and the omission of papers by absent authors, it was all performed within the time, without any suppression of debate by the Chair. There was, however, too much self-suppression. The whole assembly was unconsciously infected by the chairman's desire to get through in time; some would not rise to speak, and some who rose were concise to the verge of unintelligibility in their fear of delaying the proceedings. It is well that there should be short, crisp talks, condensing all that a man knows of a matter into half that time; it is not well that a subject which requires ten minutes' development should be squeezed into five. A continuance of such condensed mental diet produces an effect on the audience like reading successive articles in a dictionary. But this is almost hypercriticism. The fault was on the right side; the audience was in attendance, not to be amused, but to work, and if at the end of the four days they were thoroughly tired and in a state of intellectual indigestion, there was the opportunity to recover in the "week of rest," which was to take the place of the usual post-conference excursion. Nevertheless, few stayed to rest, though the beautiful neighborhood is calming and the weather was superb. The older members were interested to see how entirely the mechanical side of librarianship, and even the burning matters of fiction, cataloguing, and classification, that occupied so much attention in the early days of the Association, have dropped out of sight. They have given place to questions concerning the relation of the library to the public, particularly to the young, through the schools and otherwise, and to the modern plans for the extension of the library's influence by branches, by museums, by exhibitions and lectures, by travelling libraries. The selection of books, too, and especially the annotation of the titles of the books selected, is now a necessary topic at each convention. And the public-document question is always with us. This was in the general session. But it was amusing to notice how, in the section meetings to which the older questions were appropriately relegated, the hungry members leaped upon such scraps of cataloguing and classification as were dealt out to them. Interest in those subjects has by no means died out.

—Only one novel scheme was brought forward, but that was so revolutionary that no other was needed. Mr. Dewey proposed that libraries should be the distributing agents of publishers, taking orders for books and delivering them at the wholesale price. He would even have the library not merely save to the book-buyers of a town the rent of the book-store, the salary of the clerks, the other expenses, and the net gain of the bookseller, but actually pay the expressage on the books ordered. He pointed out—what the trade journals have long been lamenting—that in country towns and small cities the book trade is almost dead; that the shops in these places are obliged to sustain themselves by selling stationery, sporting goods, and other "notions"; that they have a meagre stock, and no salesmen with any knowledge of literature; that there is a public functionary who, if he is fit for his post as librarian, is able both to assist in selection and to manage the business part of the transaction. The same educational aim that justifies the expenditure of public money for storing and distributing books for public reading would, Mr. Dewey thinks, justify its use to assist private persons to procure there tools of education for private ownership. The end—general instruction—is the same, though the roads to it are not precisely parallel. This proposition met, as was to be expected, with eager objection from the booksellers present. Nor did it get any support among the librarians; it was too novel for some and too socialistic for others. Its advocate could have pointed to the convenient French and German custom of subscribing to newspapers through the post-office, but in a country which has not yet been able to establish a parcels post and a postal telegraph a scheme so nationalistic as this of Mr. Dewey's will not meet with immediate acceptance. One other scheme of the material kind, an indicator charging system that has been in successful use for over two years, was talked of among some of the librarians, but for want of time did not get broached. The next meeting of the Association will be held at Atlanta, under the presidency of Mr. Lane of Harvard College Library.

—The second volume of Prof. A. B. Hart's 'American History Told by Contemporaries' (Macmillan) bears the sub-title "Building of the Republic," and deals with the period from 1689 to 1783. In general, the volume continues the good impression and promise of distinct usefulness made by its predecessor. The topical arrangement is none the less admirable for being familiar. Four chapters, treating respectively of New England, the Middle and Southern colonies, and Georgia, are followed by five chapters on the colonial governments, illustrative of the general principles of colonial control, the executive, legislative, and judicial departments, and local administration. Another group of five chapters, perhaps the most entertaining of all, is devoted to various phases of colonial life, including slavery. Four chapters on the French colonies, the Indians, and the intercolonial wars bring us to the eve of the Revolution. The Revolution is treated systematically, with reference, first, to its causes, as shown in the new conditions of English colonial control, the westward expansion, the Stamp Act and revenue controversy, and the final resort to coercion; second, to its conditions, as determined by the experiences and movements of patriots and loyalists, and the opposing forces of British and Americans; and, finally, to the general course of the war down to the peace of 1783. The 205 extracts under these several heads are almost equally apportioned, as to numbers, among the various subtopics. The selections are pertinent and really illustrative, they are drawn from a wide range, and, so far as we have tested them, appear to be accurately reproduced. As in the preceding volume, constitutional documents and statutes are generally excluded. That a large number of the pieces will seem, to all save specialists, quite new, shows how little attention is ordinarily paid to the literature of the later colonial period. We could wish that room had been found for fuller treatment of the French colonies and the

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progress of settlement in the West, as well as for the strictly industrial side of colonial history. Explanation of occasional unfamiliar terms, also, would be helpful. What, for example, is the average reader to understand by an "ozenbrigs Shirt" (p. 299), or by the "neglecting" of the inhabitants of Albany "in Riding their quota of Stockadoes" (p. 209)?

—The centenary of Michelet was kept on July 13 with more or less observance throughout France. A centenary edition of his works will, as is customary on such occasions, mark what may be considered a renewal, or a resurrection, or an exacerbation of the author's literary fame, according to the point of view from which it is regarded. Calmann Lévy has the work in hand, and the first volume is already out. This is the 'Oiseau,' with a preliminary study by M. François Coppée, and some very pretty things he finds to say of his author. It is true, however, that, as with many French compliments, the quality of honey is more perceptible in the mouth than it becomes just afterwards. M. Coppée prepared himself for his work by rereading Michelet entire, and sat down to write, as he says, with his pulses quickened and his mind dazzled. Taine said once: "Michelet est le Delacroix du style"; to M. Coppée the judgment seems inadequate. There were certain resemblances between Michelet and Delacroix: both were passionate souls, "des âmes d'orage," but to compare Michelet to a painter, however great, is to lessen him, for he was before everything a poet and a great poet. And so M. Coppée goes on to point out that Michelet was absolutely the poet when his work lay in the domain of science and of history. He gathered his material far and near, sometimes in very deep mines, but he fused it all in the blast-furnace of his own imagination, and created for us a Middle Age, a new earth and a new sea, new animals and a new sex by his *mens divinior*. All this is an easy thing to write while one's mind is a little dazzled. The second monograph to appear will be 'La Mer,' with a study by Pierre Loti. Then will follow the 'Bible de l'Humanité,' by M. Sully Prudhomme. For the rest of the volumes MM. Berthelot, Gaston Boissier, Michel Bréal, Claretie, Faguet, Anatole France, O. Gréard. Lavisse, Jules Lemaître, Albert Sorel, and a half-dozen others have promised their collaboration. These are eminent names—some of them of high eminence—and whether their juxtaposition with his will increase or diminish Michelet's fame is a question which time will decide.

—Madame Michelet still lives to witness her husband's centenary festival. She has devoted her life for many years to the work of arranging, classifying, and transcribing the great mass of literary material which he left behind him. Michelet had the habit of jotting down his thoughts on any scrap of paper that was at hand, and these hasty notes grew into formless heaps of almost inextricable confusion. Just before he died he said: "I am leaving fifteen years' work for my wife." But Mme. Michelet has already been busy for the twenty-four years which have passed since her husband's death, and her work is as yet unfinished. Whether she ever will accomplish it may perhaps be doubted. One result of it, however, we are likely to see in a volume that is to appear this fall, which will probably show both grace and charm in itself, and certainly in the way in which Mme. Michelet gives it to the world. It is a volume of letters addressed to her more than fifty years ago by her husband before their marriage. This will be the last volume of the centenary edition of Michelet's works, and will be sent to all the subscribers to that edition. Mme. Michelet feels that the book will contain what to her is priceless, and so will not permit it to be sold, but gives it.

—It is quite evident that the Italian Government is convinced that the Church dignitaries had not a little to do with the recent bread riots in that country. A stop has been put to the publication of a number of radical clerical papers, and the diocesan and parochial committees which have been organized throughout the kingdom, in recent years, in the interests of the ecclesiastical propaganda, and the origin of which has been directly ascribed to the initiative of the Pope himself, have been dissolved by Government decree. The editor of the Milan *Osservatore Cattolico*, Don Albertario, who had fled the country, was upon his return immediately arrested, and his trial is awaited with considerable interest. Archbishop Ferrari of Milan, who deserted his post in the midst of the troubles and in spite of the requests of the Government to remain and use his influence for the restoration of peace, will probably be deprived of his exequatur. A letter to him from the Pope has been published in the *Osservatore Romano* in which the Cardinal is mildly censured for his action, but which strongly defends him against the attacks made on all sides. On the other hand, voices favorable to the support of the political authorities are also heard occasionally in the ranks of the Church. A characteristic pastoral letter has been published by Bishop Bonomelli of Cremona, in which the workingmen are warned against participation in socialistic agitation, and the land-owners are urged to treat the laborers with more justice and liberality. The Bishop also takes the clerical press sharply to task for trying to equal the anti-clerical journals in rampant radicalism. This letter is either ignored by the clerical press or is treated with bitter irony.

RECENT FICTION.

Helbeck of Bannisdale. By Mrs. Humphry Ward. The Macmillan Co.

The Crook of the Bough. By Menie Muriel Dowie. Charles Scribner's Sons.

Children of the Sea. By Joseph Conrad. Dodd, Mead & Co.

Tales of Unrest. By Joseph Conrad. Charles Scribner's Sons.

Her Ladyship's Elephant. By David Dwight Wells. Henry Holt & Co.

Folks from Dixie. By Paul L. Dunbar. Dodd, Mead & Co.

During the "eighties," the position of great English novelist became conspicuously vacant. George Eliot and Charles Reade, survivors of a famous group, passed away, and the ingenious spirit of Wilkie Collins grew weary of inventing and solving exciting puzzles. Thomas Hardy had a hopeful band of admirers; and persons able to discern the light of genius glimmering through bewildering eccentricities strove to gain for George Meredith a public favor long coldly denied. A young man, Robert Louis Stevenson, was getting talked about as an interesting story-teller, but most of the critics said that his essays were much better stuff than his stories, and, in spite of accumulated evidence to the contrary, some of them are of the same opinion still.

The future was not absolutely dark, yet an impression that one of the sacred national torches had been extinguished prevailed, when a letter from a distinguished statesman announced that it had been caught up by Mrs. Ward and was flaming with a very superior, modern brilliancy through the pages of 'Robert Elsmere.' Then the Elsmere madness swept over the English-speaking world. A form of composition similar to that which the French call a *pièce à thèse* and the Germans a *Tendenz-Roman* got an English habitation and a name—the "subject novel." This was not the first English novel in which the life-drama of a chosen few was involved in and deeply affected by popular movements and general tendencies of feeling and thought; but it was the first notable one in which ideas feebly stirring among the mass directed and dominated the conduct of the few, in which public opinion became private destiny. Writers of some kinds of literature are universally called great, though their readers may ever have been hard to find, but the first credible intimation of a novelist's greatness is the publisher's account-books. None so great, therefore, temporarily, as Mrs. Ward, and none with a greatness of some permanence so assured, if she should continue to identify the personal interests of a group of men and women with the experimental development of current ideas, well-advertised social movements, or even popular prejudices. She has continued, and at intervals of about two years published an opportune novel, always a clever and conscientious exhibition of types of the times. Every one has come to expect a discussion of subjects immediately agitating his own and neighbor's breasts, and to meet people who satisfactorily exemplify all sides. And though Mrs. Ward is under no sort of obligation to fulfil such expectation, it is like trifling with fortune to offer a public tuned to welcome topics of the hour and types, a topic for which the first keen relish was abated in the reign of Elizabeth and a leading character, "Helbeck of Bannisdale," who, even in the Middle Ages, would probably have been an exceptional English Catholic layman. To-day Helbeck stands for himself alone, a person whose views and practices differentiate him almost as sharply from any large number of Catholics as from Protestants and pagans.

The spectre of Rome, always vaguely present to the anxious British Protestant, and haunting the contemptuous Agnostic, is not now positively menacing; and if it were, it would be insult to Mrs. Ward's intelligence and taste to suppose that she had drawn Helbeck as a timely warning. What she probably had most in mind, and wished most forcibly to convey, was a sense of the spiritual battle which a devout Catholic must fight before he can yield to passion so far as to determine to marry a girl who has no religion, no knowledge of or sympathy with religions, but a positive inherited scorn for the Catholic faith, and an impertinent contempt for the rules and ceremonies of the Church. Doubtless many good Catholics have faced a similar situation; and the process by which the inner man might arrive at his solution is a tempting field for psy-

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chological exploration. Mrs. Ward has unluckily overlooked or evaded this study of the soul, as she overlooked or evaded it in Elsmere and in the later development of Marcella. A correspondence between Helbeck and his spiritual director, a Jesuit priest, is mentioned, but the substance is not given, and curiosity about the drift of an important conversation, by which Helbeck is persuaded to do something contrary to his convictions, remains ungratified. Once Helbeck tries to explain his religious nature to his impatient fiancée, but the explanation takes the form of confession of experience, punctuated with miracles of that vulnerable sort not often used by Catholics in argument with unbelievers. In the course of the story a wise Cambridge professor asks what the ordinary Protestant knows of Catholicism's treasure of spiritual experience. Mrs. Ward's presentation of Helbeck, of Father Leadham, of two or three nuns and a parish priest, would probably move him to further comment on the poverty and superficiality of that knowledge.

As a picture of a single Catholic drawn from the outside there are, in the book, many imperfect observations and deductions. A man thus cut off by his own will from every worldly interest, sternly indifferent to human beings except as they are Catholics, ascetic, devout, absorbed in the salvation of his own soul, would hardly wish to be a Jesuit, but would yearn for the seclusion and sacrifice of the severer orders, and before middle age would have entered one. Mrs. Ward is herself not exempt from a mysterious horror of the Jesuit, whom she calls the Protestant bogey. Helbeck's unwillingness to attempt to draw Laura Fountain to his faith is, of course, possible, but not probable, and his hilarity over the failures of Protestant missions, his violent speeches against Anglicans, are not characteristic of a Catholic who is also an English gentleman of long descent.

In delineating Laura Fountain Mrs. Ward is on safer ground. She knows the little Cambridge girl intimately, and presents her with a sympathy and thoroughness which give life and some charm to a novel otherwise cold and insignificant. Laura's relations, the Masons, one of whom is an excitable Protestant, not uncommon in her class, take up much space in the tale; they are harsh people, unessential, and made intolerable by their loquacity in Westmoreland dialect. The description of Laura's life with them does not illuminate her character, and one long episode (including the journey to Froswick, the shocking tragedy in the steel-works, and Laura's appearance with the dawn at Helbeck's window) is a singularly dull and tortuous road, which may lead anywhere, yet surprises us immensely by ending in a love scene. All the first volume is an introduction, and yet the intended situation when reached astonishes us. There is everywhere great effort and nowhere commensurate success, except perhaps in descriptions of scenery. Mrs. Ward loves Westmoreland as dearly as did Wordsworth, one of the persons in whom Helbeck took no interest, though it might easily have been in his own wood of Bannisdale that the poet saw

> "A host of golden daffodils,
> Beside the lake, beneath the trees,
> Fluttering and dancing in the breeze."

Miss Dowie, the author of a novel obscurely named 'The Crook of the Bough,' should be an authority on the development and variations of the new woman. Some years ago she showed how safely a girl may traverse the Carpathians alone and in man's attire—an exploit very entertaining for the general public, and doubtless full of profit for aspiring yet timid sisters. Since that time she has vigorously, though less picturesquely, proclaimed that women can do all that may become a man, and has occasionally reported how hard they are trying and how well succeeding. Therefore a conversation, early in her novel, between three of the emancipated promises much information of the sort significantly called "inside." Two friends of Miss Netherdale have been summoned, with dispatch, to hear that she has just received and promptly rejected an offer of marriage. The case was, of course, past advice, but Miss Netherdale, unreasonably agitated by a first offer, sought for opinion. As a milestone marking the progress of women, the discussion is disappointing. Miss Peel, a college-bred person, inquires chiefly into the practical advantages associated with the offer; the second friend (frivolously named "Nettie") contributes ill-timed flippancies, and Miss Netherdale has no more novel reasons to give for her refusal than that she didn't care for the man, and that, being blessed with the close companionship of a brother, believed to be rising in the Commons, there had not been enough temptation for a change of state.

A consciousness of failure to characterize by talk may have inspired the expository pages immediately following. Here we are impressively exhorted to observe that when flippant Nettie had left the room, neither of the others said a word about her. This statement, the author is well aware, "must tax belief even to its foundations." Nevertheless, she pledges her word for its truth, and for the even more amazing declaration that women of the "newer code" do not gossip or backbite, that "honor" is their beacon-light, and that their modesty and delicacy are of a "snow-white," "gossamer-fine" quality unperceived of their grandmothers, happy (poor things!) in the practice of crude, conventional virtues. Ungrateful though it may be to question authority, we are obliged to point out that the red-hot haste of a "gossamer-fine" to tell about an offer excites distrust, and that the grandmothers to whom good instinct and good taste always dictated reserve about such intimate affairs, appear to the impartial to lose nothing by comparison.

A much more important incident than this confirms the sad suspicion that, whatever the new woman represented by Miss Dowie may be, she is unquestionably "no lady." The chief situation, an excellent one for purposes both of analysis and of dramatic effect, is the admiration conceived for Miss Netherdale by a young Turk, a brilliant and beautiful *aide* of the Sultan. Col. Hassan adores the greatness of England and believes that it rests on the freedom and influence granted to women. Miss Netherdale, clear-eyed, serene, severely clad, full of strange information, is to him England's greatness incarnate, a being superior, remote, whom love in the Oriental sense must flagrantly insult. But the gossamer-fine one falls in love with his handsome person and fine manners, and bids for passion openly, coarsely, in the fashion of common (indeed, lewd) women of all time. The young Turk's point of view is so cleverly taken and the pain of his disillusionment so well rendered, that one is both angry with and sorry for the author who has thrown so good a thing away. In spite of her wild notions about women's duties, functions, etc., and in spite of attachment to senseless compound adjectives, deeper reflection might have saved Miss Dowie from a picture so defamatory, we trust, of the ladies who live by the "newer code." She has in the rough a remarkable talent for description; she sees at once the significant in a landscape or a crowd; she often strikes swiftly at the heart's secrets, at the meaning of a social or political movement. Her natural faculties are, indeed, so unusually good that she ought to take rank in letters; but unless she should learn to reflect, to think about everything from characterization to grammar, she can never rise; such stepping-stones being in her profession imperative for progress towards higher things.

'Children of the Sea' and 'Tales of Unrest,' recent volumes by Mr. Joseph Conrad, show an imaginative power which was never let loose in his earlier long-winded tales of South Sea savages and traders. The former book is an account of a voyage from India to England. There are no sensational incidents, nothing exciting, except a vaguely threatened mutiny and a bad storm, which the *Narcissus* outrode. Everything that happens has happened innumerable times on the high seas, yet the narrative makes an indelible impression, because the narrator appears to be a seaman who knows all about the sea and a ship and sailors of every complexion, and because he has got the poet's trick of heightening and deepening, modifying and exaggerating, producing a harmony of untruth which is a powerful representation of truth. The resemblance to Loti's work is conspicuous, but there is all the difference of race. The Englishman is less sensuous, less sentimental than the Frenchman, more spiritual and also more brutal. Then, Mr. Conrad has no form; he wanders, wavers, does not lead, but is driven. His expression is often effective, yet always too copious. Instead of patiently seeking the one word, he takes the half-dozen that offer themselves. On the other hand, he often takes pains to select one very wrong word, such as "like" for "as" and "lay" for "lie." These are temptations which all good poets have striven to overcome.

To call the volume of shorter tales 'Tales of Unrest' is to understate a case. They are all very tragic, in one way or another quite horrible. One, "The Idiots," might have been done by Maupassant; it has something of that air of imperturbable veracity which gave his writings such authority as might abide in an official edict of Fate. The others are less impressive, hardly more agreeable, yet all have much power and some meaning, some question about the inscrutable mystery and enduring pain of life.

'Her Ladyship's Elephant' is an uncommonly smart little comedy, and the adjective may be taken in both the English and the American sense. The principal characters, including the elephant, are refreshingly unconventional; so are the knot and the catastrophe; yet the development is a respectful acknowledgment of the ancient conventions and traditions of light comedy. Nobody with a proper feeling for quality cares whether the incidents of a comedy are true or not. The only requirement is that they shall be

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funny and seem probable for the moment. Therefore the author's note about the elephant is unnecessary. He is as an elephant unimpeachable, and as an instrument for reuniting long-separated, distressful lovers uniquely perfect. The facts of the situation are of no importance. Mr. Wells's manner is just appropriately light, not flippant. He takes the ironical view of serious misfortunes, in the shameless American way. His English is an international blend. Some pages bristle with phrases sacredly British; others are recklessly American. Mr. Wells is obviously an idle story-teller, scornful of serious intentions; he is probably funny because he cannot help it, and not with set beneficent purpose. Nevertheless, a tale which again and again excites spontaneous laughter is such a boon that its author must consent to be regarded as a benefactor of his kind without responsibility.

In his stories of Southern negro life Mr. Dunbar seems not to have made the most of his opportunity. From him, "the first negro poet," as Mr. Howells has said, "to divine and utter his race," one looked for something deeper, a more intimate revelation of his people's life. The revival experiences and 'possum pleasantries which make up the greater part of the book, are well given, but the thing has been done before with quite as much sympathy and success. Once, indeed, Mr. Dunbar touches upon a situation, as yet unexploited in fiction, over which one could have wished him to linger, so full is it of fresh interest, of real pathos: the position of the negro who, cultured beyond the usual attainment of the white, goes to live and labor among his submerged Southern people. The isolation, the two-fold alienation, the discouragements, of such a one are suggested in "The Ordeal at Mt. Hope," but in its execution the story disappoints by trailing into the feebleness of a temperance tract. For the most part, however, the stories are of excellent workmanship, nor is this pining for what is not, in Mr. Dunbar's book, anything but an appreciation of his ability to become a truer exponent of his 'Folks from Dixie' than he has shown himself in his present volume.

DUNNING'S ESSAYS.

Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction and Related Topics. By William A. Dunning. Macmillan. 1898.

Of the seven essays in this volume, all but one—that on "The Process of Reconstruction"—have already seen the light in periodicals and elsewhere. The last paper, on "American Political Philosophy," has only remote connection with the others; the interest of the book, therefore, is with the first six papers, in which Prof. Dunning treats of the constitutional aspects of the Civil War and Reconstruction. For the most part, the study of the constitutional history of the United States has ended with the war of the rebellion; the later characteristics of our constitutional development, with its profound modifications of older principles, have been but cursorily examined even by legal writers, and little attended to by others. Prof. Dunning's essays, although intending nothing beyond a discussion of certain important topics, have, nevertheless, a distinct and appreciable unity, and form a valuable and welcome contribution to the history of the United States since 1861. It is in the two papers on "The Constitution in Civil War" and "The Constitution in Reconstruction" that the author's point of view is most clearly presented, and it is to these that the limits of space will compel us mainly to confine our attention.

From a constitutional standpoint, the position of the Federal Government, at the outbreak of the civil war, was one of peculiar difficulty. A written constitution, presumptively of no great flexibility, but with obligations not to be ignored, had now to be followed, if possible, under conditions which its framers could not have foreseen, and for which, in any case, they could hardly have been expected to provide. The law of self-preservation demanded that the Union should not be dissolved; but to discover constitutional means of holding it together was not at once easy. President Buchanan, approaching the subject from a strict-constructionist standpoint, could reach no other conclusion than the familiar one that "a State had no right to secede, and the Federal Government had no right to prevent it from seceding." So far as this theory was concerned, however, the secession of South Carolina was the beginning of the end. Accordingly, in the absence of Congressional determination, it devolved upon President Lincoln to announce a theory on which the Government could stand, and in accordance with which the struggle for the preservation of its territorial integrity could be carried on. Shrewdly omitting to assert the right of the Union to coerce a State, Lincoln took his stand on the theory of national sovereignty, denied the sovereignty of any State, even as an historic fact, and laid down the broad principle that "the States have their status in the Union, and they have no other legal status." The war thus became in theory, as in fact, a war for the preservation of the Union; and the measure of the war power was to be, not the definitions of Constitution and laws, but the rational necessities of the case.

That, in the prosecution of the war, the Federal Government should have taken positions for which no strict regard to either the letter or the historic spirit of the Constitution could afford defence, is, perhaps, not strange. For all practical purposes, as Professor Dunning shows, Lincoln exercised the powers of a military dictator. He proclaimed a blockade of the Southern ports, though to do so involved the recognition of belligerent rights. In response to "a popular demand and a public necessity," he called for three-year volunteers, trusting to Congress to ratify his action. Contrary to precedent and authority, he suspended the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus in advance of legislative determination of its necessity. Not until August 16, 1861, did he issue his proclamation declaring certain States to be in insurrection. No less unwarranted, by any theory of the Constitution hitherto accepted, was the assumption by Congress of power over the confiscation of property and the emancipation of slaves, or its support of the President in the matter of habeas corpus and trials by military tribunals. These acts were, to be sure, defended as falling within the "war power"; but since the "war power," as thus invoked, was only another name for necessity, the defence was inadequate, the question being not whether this or that power could be exercised in a given exigency, but whether it could be exercised at all. On this point Professor Dunning well says (pp. 48, 49):

"The whole subject of extraordinary authority is involved in the determination of such a case as that of Milligan. To maintain that the framers of the Constitution contemplated vesting in any man or body of men the discretionary right to set aside any of its provisions, seems too much like judging the past in the light of the present. To believe that the nation could have been preserved without the exercise of such a discretionary power involves too severe a strain upon the reasoning faculties of the careful student of the times. Two methods may be suggested of reaching a satisfactory conclusion on the question—either to consider that the war wrought a great modification in the canons of interpretation applicable to the organic law, or to recognize the fact that in the throes of the rebellion a new and adequate constitution developed out of the ruins of the old."

If the stress of civil war gave to the Constitution new significance and scope, reconstruction subjected it to a perilous strain. The essay in which Professor Dunning has discussed the constitutional aspects of reconstruction is, in many respects, the ablest in the volume. The triumph of the North having put an end to the old theory of State sovereignty, it remained to define the rights of a State under the new order of things. Lincoln consistently refused to admit that the rebellious States, as States, had forfeited their separate existence; and neither Congress nor the judiciary were at first disposed to differ with him. Lincoln's great desire, accordingly, was "to get something in the nature of a State organization to recognize without being over-critical as to how it was secured" (p. 76); and, in the cases of Louisiana and Arkansas, he succeeded. The key to the struggle between Congress and President Johnson is to be found in the rapidly growing determination of the former not to leave the reconstruction of the South to the whites, as the policies of both Lincoln and Johnson implied, but to make the enfranchisement of the negroes the one indispensable step in the process. When the passage of the Civil-Rights Bill was followed by an attempt to engraft the provisions of the bill upon the Constitution, Congress found itself "obliged to formulate a theory of State status upon which it could rest for support in a decisive struggle with the executive" (p. 99).

The mass of contemporary discussion, as analyzed by Prof. Dunning, shows five theories of reconstruction. The Southern theory admitted that the war had put the constitutional relations of the State to the Union out of joint, but denied that the State was thereby any less a State. The Presidential theory affirmed "the indestructibility of a State either by its own act or by act of the United States Government." In opposition to these, Sumner evolved his famous theory of State suicide, while Thaddeus Stevens chose to regard the rebellious States as conquered provinces, and pointed to the fact of military rule in the South as proof. If reconstruction were to proceed in accordance with either of the first two theories, it was evident that, as difficulties arose, the State would have the benefit of the doubt; if on either of the last two, it seemed necessary to admit that the Union had in fact been dissolved, at the same time that there appeared "no guarantee of political results at all commensurate with the military triumph of the Unionists" (p. 109). The *via media* was found in the con-

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gressional theory of "forfeited rights," under which the States were adjudged to be still members of the Union, but, because of rebellion, no longer in normal relation to it. The United States thus became the final judge of the constitutional status of a State; and since, under the Constitution, the United States must guarantee to every State a republican form of government, Congress, as the Federal legislature, assumed the right to prescribe the terms on which rehabilitation should be carried out, and to affix penalties and impose conditions as it should deem proper. That this theory, reasonable as it seemed to many, shortly gave place, under military reconstruction, to a theory essentially that of Sumner, was due less to the desire of Congress for theoretical consistency than to its manifest determination to have its own way; but the theory of forfeited rights has received the sanction of the Supreme Court, and is fundamental doctrine in the great reconstruction decisions.

Prof. Dunning is sparing of comment or reflection outside of the strict limits of his subject, nor does he allow himself to be drawn aside by the many interesting points naturally suggested by his discussion. That the immense widening of the range of the Constitution, so far as the powers of the national Government are concerned, which the civil war and reconstruction brought about should have been accepted with so little dissent by lawyers, is doubtless attributable in large part to the success of the Supreme Court, in such cases as Texas vs. White, in preserving "the continuity of legal development." If, as Prof. Dunning intimates, the position of the Court has sometimes been reached by elaborate argument rather than sound logic, the similarity of form has at least made easy the acquiescence in change of substance. And now that the immediate issues raised by reconstruction have been laid, the Court still feels its way to an adjustment of private rights by the aid of the same theory of enlarged Federal powers which emerged from the exigencies of a national convulsion. One needs no better illustration of this than to consider how the present attitude of the Supreme Court towards Trusts and trade combinations, or its decisions regarding State control of traffic in intoxicating liquors, would have appealed to a jurist in Marshall's day. Why, under the circumstances, no proposition to revise the Constitution has ever been seriously entertained, might well puzzle the most acute foreign observer.

We have left ourselves no space to speak of the other essays in the volume. They treat of "Military Government during Reconstruction," "The Process of Reconstruction," "The Impeachment and Trial of President Johnson," and the question, "Are the States equal under the Constitution?" We mention them only to indicate the contents of a book which is to be praised as a notable contribution to our constitutional history.

Northward Over the Great Ice: A Narrative of Life and Work along the Shores and upon the Interior Ice Cap of Northern Greenland in the years 1886 and 1891-97. By Robert E. Peary, U. S. N. New York: F. A. Stokes Co. 1898. lxxx, 521 and xiv, 525 pp. 8vo. Ills.

This narrative has been written to supply a complete authentic record of the author's Arctic work, and contains in condensed form all the historical and illustrative material relating to his various expeditions. These comprise his reconnoissance of the inland ice of Greenland in 1886, the north Greenland expeditions of 1891-2, 1893-4, 1894-5, and the summer voyages of 1896 and 1897, which resulted in securing the well-known meteorites of Cape York.

The work consists of an almost exclusively personal narrative, the author stating that he has purposely avoided historical comparisons, and that material gathered in the lines of ethnology, meteorology, geography, and natural history is reserved for treatment in monographic form by expert specialists. This may account for the impression left by the book, that little if any real scientific work, other than geographic, was accomplished during the progress of these explorations; an impression strengthened by the absence of any information as to the amount of such material gathered, or the particular experts who have it in hand for elaboration. Nevertheless, those who not only know the frozen North by hard-bought experience, but have had a training in scientific methods, will be able to glean much of interest and value from this book, and especially from the excellent illustrations from original photographs with which it is lavishly provided. In this respect the work is richer than any previous publication on Arctic exploration.

Certain criticisms suggest themselves at once to the reader, and it is as well to mention them and so have done with what is always the least pleasant part of a reviewer's task. Lieut. Peary would have done well to enlist the assistance of some friend of sound literary training to revise and prune his manuscript, as, for instance, in the case of this paragraph: "Its interior [that of Greenland] is the last of those glacial conditions which for ages submerged northern Europe and northern North America in its icy flood" (p. xxxi). We naturally expect an Arctic traveller to use Arctic terms understandingly, and it is with a certain painful shock that we find Mr. Peary using the words "ice blink" for the Inland ice of Greenland which he has to mention so frequently. By some extraordinary blunder he has come to suppose that this is Danish usage. That our author has no very thorough acquaintance with Arctic literature and work other than his own, is constantly made evident by naïve claims for priority in ideas and appliances which doubtless were original with him, as they had been with other intelligent explorers endeavoring to meet the same conditions long before Mr. Peary's time. For this reason it is a pity that he did not, for his own sake, prepare, even if he did not print, the historical summary so usual in publications of this kind. Furthermore, it may be said that the narrative would have gained in dignity and good taste by the omission of fanciful adjectives applied to Mr. Peary's journeys, etc. The best and most effective portions of the book are those in which the author has forgotten his adjectives. Lastly, the index, though profuse and pretentious, is stupidly made and unreliable, some of the references being to blank pages.

Having pointed out sundry very obvious defects, it remains for us to say that the volumes were well worth publication. They form a record of work of which any Arctic explorer might be justly proud. Following where Nordenskjöld had pointed the way, the author rapidly bettered his instruction. The journey of 1891-2 is one of the most remarkable ever made, and the discovery of the ice-free region peopled with musk oxen, was as unexpected and interesting as any discovery of the last thirty years. The insularity of Greenland had been definitely established by Bessells in his study of the cotidal lines of the coast of Northwest Greenland; but such a demonstration appeals only to the scientific mind. For the general reader the proof is that furnished by Peary. The courage, persistence, energy, and enthusiasm shown by him in his various journeys, successful or unsuccessful, are beyond praise, and will always remain among the examples of the highest Arctic heroism. That his faithful and courageous assistant in much of this work was of African descent is another testimony, if one is needed, to the capabilities of the negro for much that is commonly thought beyond him.

Not the least creditable fact in the record of the explorer is that the expense of his various journeys (apart from generous contributions from private hands) has been in very large part met from his own resources and earnings, though he is far from being a man of wealth. In all that he has undertaken he seems to have been enthusiastically seconded by Mrs. Peary and a circle of devoted friends. Should he do no more than is recorded in these volumes, he will nevertheless have earned an honorable place among the most distinguished Arctic travellers, and shed lustre on his country and her naval service.

Rozas: Ensayo Histórico-Psicológico. Por Lucio V. Mansilla. Paris: Garnier Frères. 1898.

In spite of the Monroe Doctrine, there are few tracts of the world's history so little explored by students and persons of culture in the United States as that of South America. The name of Rosas (thus wilfully changed in spelling from *z* to *s* by himself), it is safe to say, is unknown to the average college graduate in this country; yet he died only twenty-one years ago, in exile in England; his downfall after as many years of Argentine dictatorship occurred in 1852; Darwin met him, on the eve of his tyranny, engaged in his campaigns against the southern Indians, and has recorded his impressions of him in his 'Journal of a Voyage'; and, finally, Sarmiento's 'Civilization and Barbarism' has been before our public in an English dress for thirty years. The nearness of this extraordinary man is shown in the publication of the essay whose title we give above, and which the author would have us view as a sort of relief to his conscience "compromised by long years of discreet silence"—as if the repressive hand of Rosas were still potent, or at least as if the old feud of Federalists and Unitarians were still smouldering. Moreover, he is that Gen. Mansilla (a brother-in-law of Rosas) who stood with Urquiza in the final overthrow.

One who has not read elsewhere the leading facts of Rosas's career, must not look to General Mansilla for a connected relation of them. His object, as his sub-title shows, is quite other: "simply to mark certain salient points in the physiognomy of the epoch"; to be sparing of anecdotes and of names. His Spencerian psychologizing, indeed, fills a large proportion of his pages, but happily his illustrations have involved not a little biography and anecdote, with some authentic

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historical documents, both new and inedited. He writes with piquancy, with much candor and a large humanity, extenuating nothing of Rosas's crimes, yet upholding him in his contention for Argentine control of the La Plata River system, and acquitting him of the assassination of Quiroga. (Concerning this captain he has much good to say, anecdotically and otherwise, as against Sarmiento's characterization of him *à la* Alexandre Dumas or Victor Hugo.) He does not conceal the support given to Rosas in the most abject period—when red in clothing and even in house decoration was the prevailing color of subserviency, when the dictator's decrees might almost have been called self-executing—by the most respectable and worthy classes in Buenos Aires. He points out that Rosas was fairly accessible, dispensed with a Pretorian guard, and yet, in spite of his murders and barbarities, never had his life attempted.

Rosas, though brought up among the gauchos, and a true representative of them, was of noble descent, and his indebtedness for his imperious, overbearing traits to his mother is unmistakably shown. Sooner than submit to a war-levy on her mules and horses (in a campaign against her son), she cut their throats. When she made her will, she gave to her orphaned grandchildren more than to her children, who, by Juan Manuel's advice (he was the oldest son), did not contest such discrimination, though it was against the law, as Doña Augustina had been duly informed in drawing up the instrument. Juan Manuel had good reasons for upholding his mother's assertion of her untrammelled right of testamentary liberty. When the old lady shut him up for some disobedience, and put him on bread and water, he broke out of the room at night, to quit the home for ever, leaving nearly every stitch of clothing behind him, and this notice, to whom it might concern, on a slip of paper: "I bequeath everything that is not my own"—a formula to which we are fast being reduced in these days of odious inheritance taxes.

Discursively, in brief chapters, the picture is adumbrated of this man of chaste habit, if not averse to loose conversation; who cared little for books, but worshipped the dictionary, with a passion for adjectives and for nicknames, and cultivated an elegant hand; who was fond of practical jokes, and kept his jesters; who had a mania for uniformity; who persecuted the Jesuits for not placing his portrait on their altars. One cannot read all this—or rather spell it out—without wishing for more and fuller details; and the author's fine face, as shown in the frontispiece, confirms the reader's conviction that it would be delightful to hear him talk from the abundance of his knowledge about those old, bad, shameful, prostrate times in his native country.

Paris. By Émile Zola. Translated by Ernest Alfred Vizetelly. Macmillan. 1898. 2 vols., pp. x, 744.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of M. Zola's work of late years has been the evidence which it affords of the hard terms on which alone his talent has been intrusted to him. In the present state of opinion in Anglo-Saxon communities in regard to the rights of the citizen against the State, it should not be difficult, in view of a recent *cause célèbre*, to persuade the reading public in this country and in England that M. Zola is a sincere lover and even a devoted champion of civil justice; and in his latest published books, his Trilogy, 'Lourdes,' 'Rome,' 'Paris'—now completed with the appearance of the present volumes—it is frankly as a lover of justice that M. Zola presents himself. But he is strangely, almost pathetically, unable in any forthright way to declare his creed. A direct vision of the beloved object deprives him of half his power of speech. It is only when he turns his back that he possesses his vocabulary. "Tell me what you like," Mr. Ruskin somewhere writes, "and I will tell you what you are." It is only in telling what he dislikes that it has been given to M. Zola to afford an evidence of what he likes and what he is.

Much of all this may be set down, no doubt, to the habits of observation, to the habits of expression, of a literary lifetime. But habits of observation and expression are not ultimate; and the point is that in M. Zola's case the man is interested in one thing, and his talent is interested in another. So long as he is writing in 'Lourdes' of the *débâcle* of religious faith, in 'Rome' of the *débâcle* of the Church, in 'Paris' of the *débâcle* of the régime which faith and the Church prescribe in especial to the upper classes of society—the régime of charity—M. Zola is as "dramatic," as full of invention, as full of resource, as when he wrote of the *débâcle* of the Second Empire, or when he wrote of 'La Bête Humaine.' When he writes of the rise of the city of the perfect (he speaks of it with an optimism significant enough in this connection in view of the general effect of his works on the reader), he abandons drama for disquisition, and for disquisition not the best in its inferior kind.

The Abbé Fromont (Pierre) from whom, in 'Lourdes' and again in 'Rome,' had been wrung the cry "A new religion! a new religion!" is presented in the beginning of the 'Paris' in the midst of an experiment, as the specialists in science would say, in the religion of charity. He is constrained to appeal in behalf of a laborer in distress to one of the great charities of Paris organized and administered by people of fashion. He is sent on slight pretexts from one person to another (it is nobody's business in particular, his little affair), from fashionable house to fashionable house, to the Senate, to the brothel, till the whole of upper and lower-class Paris passes before his eyes; a Paris of infinite intrigue, bribery, debauchery, indecency. It is not until intrigue and worse are enlisted in his cause that he can obtain a serious hearing; and even then the movements of the *beau monde* in what does not concern its own pleasures are so slow that, by the time the assistance requested has been obtained, the laborer for whom it was requested has died of want. This experience is the beginning of the end of the Abbé's change of heart. A Socialist attempt to avenge the laborer's death, the sternness with which society represses that attempt, and the presence and love of a woman, complete the Abbé's conversion, and indeed take him out of the priesthood for good and all, and supply him with a creed of industry and justice and optimism which tacitly he formulates in the closing pages of the story—and which we have taken the liberty of regarding as M. Zola's own:

"In olden times the overburdened slave, glowing with new hope and seeking to escape from his gaol, dreamt of a heaven where, in return for his earthly misery, he would be rewarded with eternal bliss. But now that science has destroyed that false idea of heaven, and shown what dupery lies in reliance on the morrow of death, the slave, the workman, weary of dying for happiness' sake, demands that justice and happiness shall find place on this earth. Therein lies the new hope—justice after eighteen hundred years of impotent charity."

Again, he speaks of "work accepted by one and all, honored and regulated as the very mechanism of natural and social life, and the passions of men excited, contented, and utilized for human happiness"; and says:

"The universal cry for justice which rises louder and louder, in growing clamour from the once silent multitude, the people that have been so long duped and preyed upon, is but a cry for this happiness, that embodies the complete satisfaction of man's needs and the principle of life loved for its own sake, in the midst of every peace and every joy."

And again: "The time will come when the Kingdom of God will be set up on the earth": nay, the Kingdom of God is already immanent in the society about us, and nowhere more evidently, the Abbé attains the point of seeing, than in Paris:

"Over and above all passions, ambitions, stains, and waste, he was conscious of the colossal expenditure of labour which marks the life of Paris, of the heroic labour of hand in the workshops and factories, of the heroic labour of brain of the younger men of intelligence, whom he knew to be hard at work, studying in silence, relinquishing none of the conquests of their elders, but glowing with desire to enlarge their domain. And in all this, Paris was exalted, together with the future that was being prepared within it and which would wing its way over the world like the dawn of day. If Rome, now so near extinction, had ruled the ancient world, it was Paris that reigned with sovereign sway over the modern, and had for the time become the great centre of the nations as they were carried on from civilization to civilization in a sunward course from east to west. Paris was the world's brain. Its past, so full of grandeur, had prepared it for the work of initiator, civilizer, liberator. Only yesterday it had cast the cry of liberty among the nations, and to-morrow it would bring the religion of science, the new faith awaited by the democracies. And Paris was also gaiety, kindness and gentleness, passion for knowledge and generosity infinite. . . . The century ended with Paris, and the new century would begin and grow with Paris. All the clamour of its prodigious labour, all the light that came from it as from a beacon overlooking the earth, all the thunder and tempest and triumphant brightness that sprang from its entrails were pregnant with that final splendour of which human happiness would be compounded.

"Marie raised a light cry of admiration as she pointed toward the city in light of the setting sun: 'Look! just look!'" she is made to exclaim, in pursuance of the allegory that runs through the book, "'Paris is all golden—covered with a harvest of gold.'"

Falklands. By the Author of 'The Life of Sir Kenelm Digby.' With illustrations. Longmans, Green & Co. 1897.

The anonymous author of this essay on the Falkland family is a descendant of Sir Kenelm Digby, and signs his prefaces with the initials "L. L." He insists once more upon the bulk of the review articles which he has turned out, a point we noticed in dealing with a former work, although he now observes that he has escaped the unfavorable criticism of being a reviewer before he is a biographer. Without saying so in a carping spirit, we must refer to t

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strangeness of the spectacle afforded by this veteran of the pen in presenting personal confidences. He is quite subjective in disclosing to the world his reasons for publishing, and, having once broken the autobiographical ice, he sketches his method of book-making. This would be naïve were it not for the fact that the habit of criticism becomes so inveterate with reviewers that, in the last resort, they dissect themselves for the benefit of strangers.

Beyond doubt, "T. L." is well equipped for the task of bringing out the lights and shadows of English life during the seventeenth century. We might find some fault with his habit of treating minor authorities with deference, of exalting a gossip like Aubrey too much; but his skill in piecing together scattered hints and bits of information is quite uncommon. He can even keep Aubrey in his place with the titles "scandal-loving" and scandal-mongering" when it comes to a question of the latter's word against Clarendon's in the matter of Lucius Cary's connection with Miss Moray. More heinous than his occasional stress upon a poor witness is his citing Drummond of Hawthornden against Ben Jonson, as though he were an independent and impartial critic. No hint is given of the enmity existing between the two, or of the over-effusive friendship from which it was the reaction. "T. L." also does Ben an injustice by corrupting his famous line on Shakspere, which is rendered thus: "He was not for an age but for all time." While dealing with slips and points questionable we must also touch upon a queer footnote to page 32. After quoting Clarendon's phrase, "of inimitable sweetness and delight," "T. L." adds: "It is difficult to understand Matthew Arnold's reasons for changing 'sweetness and delight' to 'sweetness and light.' ('Mixed Essays,' p. 236.)" One would suppose from this, if he did not verify the reference, that Arnold had been garbling Clarendon. On the contrary, Arnold uses his phrase "sweetness and light" in a context quite apart from the 'History of the Rebellion.' He borrows the expression, which in his mouth became so celebrated, from Swift's 'Battle of the Books.' It cannot in any sense be considered a corruption of Clarendon.

From these strictures we pass to the distinctive qualities of the book. Having to follow Clarendon and Matthew Arnold, who both devote their best style to the laud of Falkland, "T. L." does not attempt to produce his effects by fine writing. His shafts of sarcasm, barbed in the *Saturday Review* manner, are frequently well aimed, but anything in the nature of eloquence he leaves severely alone. Though the title has a plural ending, the famous Falkland is the central figure. Parents, brothers, sisters, and wife are brought in, either to explain the moulding of his character or to illustrate its workings amidst certain difficult relations of family life. With the scholar of Great Tew, the host of Chillingworth, Hales, Seldon, Hobbes, Carew, Suckling, and Ben Jonson, we have long been familiar. As the ally of Clarendon and Colepipper at the beginning of the civil war, Falkland belongs to political history. It is neither, however, on the side of attainments nor of public actions that he appeals with fullest force to the present generation. The memory of a character which deserves to be classed with that of Sir Philip Sidney, is what endears him to us now. While disclaiming the wish to shrink from new biographical truth, though it damages an old hero, we are glad to say that "T. L.'s" researches have dulled little, if any, the lustre of Falkland's name. Perhaps he was more lavish in entertainment and in pensioning needy men of letters than, with his limited income, he ought to have been. At least he did not withhold an open purse from his parents that he might live in "cultured leisure" himself. He offered to relieve his father from straits by deeding to him property which had come on the maternal side; an affection for his mother was not broken off even by their religious differences and consequent questions arising from the training of her younger children. The first Lady Falkland became a Roman Catholic; the second was of the high-church stripe, and ultra-religious in her walk for one who has assumed marital duties. Letice Morison, the wife of Lucius Cary, was a sister of his bosom friend, that Sir Henry Morison of Ben Jonson's beautiful elegy, "It is not growing like a tree." In a private station she might or might not have attracted notice. As Lady Falkland she became a target for the praise of devout biographers. 'The Holy Life and Death of the Lady Falkland' is with "T. L." a *pièce de résistance.* He seems to place Letice among the prigs, a class devoutly contemned by *Saturday Reviewers*, though he only admits that he is slashing her foolish admirers. One of the questions inevitably started by a study of Falkland's life is his reason for leaving Great Tew after those five years of scholarly retirement. "T. L." ventures the guess that he was sick and tired of Letice. "Can it be that, while Elizabeth, the wife of the first Lord Falkland, irritated him with her injudicious excellence, Letice, the wife of the second Lord, bored him with hers? I ask this question, but I do not feel in a position to give a definite answer."

"T. L." vindicates Falkland in many respects, and yet he seems to cast aspersions upon him by way of Chillingworth. Falkland can hardly be called so intimate with Chillingworth as he was with Hyde, but they were on very close terms of friendship, and Chillingworth was domiciled at Great Tew for long periods. The accusations of meanness brought against him in 'The Lady Falkland' are very *ex parte*, and will stand a deal of supplement. Over against "T. L.'s" charge that he is a double dealer in religious profession, we would set the weightier dictum of Principal Tulloch: "There are few names, upon the whole, even in a history so fruitful in great names as that of the Church of England, which more excite our admiration, or which claim a higher place in the development of religious thought."

Of Falkland's own virtues we say little, because they are enshrined in two classical passages of English prose.

The Science of Political Economy. By Henry George. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. 1898.

'Progress and Poverty,' a brilliant book, if not a great book, contained nearly the whole of the author's message to his generation. So far as literary style is concerned, perhaps there was no falling off in his subsequent writings, although in the book before us we can hardly overlook such faults as Mr. George once well knew how to correct. But the matter of his writing was the same throughout—the monopoly of land, its consequences and its remedies. So far as this book has any claim to be regarded as a scientific treatise, it is by reason of maintaining that political economy is little more than a development of that theory. In accordance with this view, all other writers on political economy are criticised, and it is made the corner-stone, if not the sum and substance, of economic science.

But the book has little claim to be regarded as a scientific treatise. It did not receive final supervision from the author; but, allowing for this, it is conceived in an altogether unscientific spirit. It is undeniably made entertaining by Mr. George's sarcastic comments on those modern professors who have succeeded in muddling and discrediting the "orthodox" political economy, without having the ability to construct anything in its place. Of them Mr. George makes fair game, and while they may justly assert that he is prejudiced in his criticisms, they will receive little sympathy. But the whole argument of the book—so far as it consists of argument—is pervaded with pride, passion, and prejudice. Mr. George was so thoroughly convinced of the truth of his theory, so satisfied of its overwhelming importance, that he came to look on himself as an inspired prophet, and on those who resisted him as deserving only to be cast forth into outer darkness. In short, he had become excessively wise in his own conceit, and extremely bitter because the world did not take him at his own estimate. This will abundantly appear from a few quotations:

> " 'Progress and Poverty,' although it has already exerted a wider influence than any other economic work written since the 'Wealth of Nations,' is not so recognized, not being even alluded to in the elaborate history of political economy which, on account of the utter chaos into which the teachings of that science have fallen, takes in the last edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' the place before accorded to the science itself" (p. 120, note). "This work was the most thorough and exhaustive examination of political economy that had yet been made. . . . 'Progress and Poverty' has been, in short, the most successful economic work ever published. Its reasoning has never been successfully assailed, and on three continents it has given birth to movements whose practical success is only a question of time" (p. 203).

But as the professors could not afford to discard the theories in which they had been trained, and yield to a man "who had never seen the inside of a college, except when he had attempted to teach professors the fundamentals of their science," they conspired to ignore, when they did not agree to misrepresent, "a book circulating by thousands in the three great English-speaking countries, and translated into all the important modern languages." It was "not in human nature" for these professors to do otherwise.

> "It would not have been merely to accept a new man without the training of the schools, but to admit that the true science was open to any one to pursue, and could be successfully continued only on the basis of equal rights and privileges. It would not merely have made useless so much of the knowledge that they had laboriously attained, and was their title to distinction and honor, but would have converted them and their science into opponents of the tremendous pecuniary interests that were vitally concerned in supporting the justification of the unjust arrangements which gave them power. . . . Thus the professors of political economy, having the sanction and support of the schools, preferred, and naturally preferred, to unite their differences, by giving up what had before been insisted on as essential, and to teach what was an incom-

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prehensible jargon to the ordinary man, under the assumption of teaching an occult science, which required a great study of what had been written by numerous learned professors all over the world, and a knowledge of foreign languages."

And thus the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' came to make "no reference whatever to the man or the book that was then exerting more influence upon thought and finding more purchasers than all the rest of them combined."

While this tone of angry self-appreciation, which rings throughout the book, is apt to rouse more antagonism to the author than sympathy for him, we must recognize certain merits in this exposition of political economy. In its clever illustrations of principles, in its fresh views of old doctrines, and its trenchant criticisms of accepted formulas, it often shows the author's powers at their best. The fundamental fallacy of Socialism, its disregard of the importance of superior directive ability in industry, is clearly recognized, and the dangers of irredeemable paper money are pointed out. Teachers of political economy will get many suggestions from the book; but it is safe to say that the public will not care for it, and that Mr. George's fame will rest on his first book, and that alone.

Some Colonial Homesteads and their Stories. By Marion Harland. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The author of this volume deserves credit for the industry with which she has collected the materials for an account of the best-known colonial estates and made out of them a readable book. The houses themselves are equalled and in many cases rather overshadowed by the enormous establishments of the *nouveaux riches* of our day; but the stories will remain interesting national and family possessions for all time. The book is profusely illustrated, and, but for certain vagaries of style and speech peculiar to the author, is well enough written. It is rather surprising to hear personages called *notabilia* (p. 24), and "judicial" reader (p. 115) is apparently used as equivalent for judicious. So, calling a farmer a "bovine" host (p. 282) seems a little singular. But these are evidently individual eccentricities, which come from choice or prosaic license. The real merit of the work is in the stories, and here, as usual, we find there are no friends like old friends. An attempt, not wholly successful, is made to persuade the reader that the Virginia houses are as important as the Northern homesteads. The real life of Virginia in its prime was political and practical, and the most interesting legend is still that of Pocahontas, who was not a colonial dame. Brandon, both Upper and Lower, Westover, and Shirley are so dealt with as to leave us cold, though locally and genealogically the accounts given here have an interest of their own. The New York manors are better, though the early Livingstons and Van Cortlandts and other great landowners are not very closely connected with the world of letters and history. It is not till we get to New England and begin to read about the Williams house in Deerfield, and the extracts from the story of the old colonial divine's captivity and sufferings among the Indians, that we feel that we are fairly in the main current of events. What makes the past interesting here is not lands nor plan but the tradition of human civilization and character, the drama of human life preserved in the record of those who have risen above what the author would call the bovine throng. The legends of the Province House, which Hawthorne made his own, are wisely omitted.

In a book like this there is necessarily a great deal of genealogy, of all sorts, which we do not pretend to weigh or pass upon. But it is worth noting that much of it is not to be beaten anywhere in the world. Thus, the Byrds of Brandon are descended, by tradition, from Le Brid, who "came over" with William the Conqueror; the Livingstons sprang from a Hungarian root; and if the Williamses of Massachusetts do not deduce their pedigree from Brutus, the grandson of Ascanius, the son of Æneas, it must be from lack of proper spirit, for the pedigree goes with the name in Wales. Recent as the stream of American tradition is, those families which have maintained a semblance of corporate existence have in most instances some colonial ancestor who was a man of real mark; and if we smile at the genealogical passion and mania in others, we all know that our own genealogical tree deserves to be respected. The only difficulty (and that is what our modern colonial pedigree-hunters are rapidly finding out) is, that democracy and equality applied to genealogy produce strange results. To have a colonial ancestor was the first requirement, but it is better to be descended from a baron of Runnymede, and still better from a king. The ancients traced their descent to gods—a resource from which religious reform has fortunately cut us off. In recalling the interesting stories of two centuries ago connected with the settlement of this country, we cannot help putting down as a snob and "un-American" any one who desires to go further back in any American line than the first stout adventurer or religionist who braved death and disaster in a thousand forms to found a new home in a new world, and transmitted to those who bear his name a possession which not even Populists can take away.

Filson Club Publications, No. 13. Walker's and Gist's Journals, 1750 and 1751. Edited by J. Stoddard Johnston. Louisville, Ky. *1898.* Large 4to.

The continued and well-directed activities of the Filson Club give us in this volume a far more complete and satisfactory account than has hitherto appeared of the first and second recorded explorations of Kentucky and adjoining territory, respectively by Thomas Walker and Christopher Gist. Neither of these distinct enterprises is novel to special students, but each acquires new significance under competent monographic editorship. Dr. Walker's Journal, though known and often cited from the beginning, was never printed till 1888, when it appeared in Boston at the hands of W. C. Rives, but unfortunately lacking twenty days of the journey through mislaying of some sheets of the manuscript. These having since been recovered, the Journal now for the first time appears in its complete form. Gist was more fortunate in the comparatively prompt appearance of his Journal in Pownall's well-known work of 1776, as well as in its recent republication by Judge Darlington at Pittsburgh in 1888, the latter being the text now preferred by Colonel Johnston.

The two Journals are well mated, as together representing the first fruits of the organized efforts first made in 1748 to acquire and settle lands west of the Alleghanies. Dr. Walker, as representative of the Loyal Land Company, in the spring of 1750 passed through Kentucky in search of suitable lands, from Cumberland Gap northward; and in the autumn of the same year Gist went through Ohio westward to the Great Miami, and thence southward from the mouth of the Scioto through Kentucky. "They were the earliest white men who explored this territory who have left a record of their observations." Gist's report was made to Gov. Dinwiddie of Virginia, and his name has long been linked with that of Washington, who had been selected by Dinwiddie as Commissioner to the French commander at Venango; the two men were together at the victory of Great Meadows, the disaster of Fort Necessity, and Braddock's defeat. Dr. Walker's record has less illustrious associations, though it is of not less historic consequence, and seems to have been more in need of adequate interpretation, to judge by many errors of fact that have sprung up concerning the route, and to say nothing of its previous mutilated appearance.

Col. Johnston is no doubt the best man who could have been found to handle both these journals; his critical work leaves nothing to be desired, and perhaps nothing to be said, hereafter. The routes of both the explorers are traced with the utmost care, and can be readily followed on the sketch-map given. The text of both journals is rigidly preserved, and elucidated with a multitude of explanatory footnotes; and each is preceded by a new biographical sketch of its author, that of Dr. Walker being apparently exhaustive of our knowledge of its subject. Our only word of criticism concerns Appendix B, on Big Bone Lick matters, not necessarily germane to the rest of the volume, and not quite up to the high-water mark Col. Johnston maintains in all other parts of his admirable performance. The whole is fittingly prefaced by the President of the club; it is minutely indexed, is embellished with a handsome portrait of the editor, and is uniform in typographical execution with preceding numbers of the same series, a list of which occupies the unpaged leaves of the end of the volume. All of these are simply indispensable to students of Kentucky history, and none suffer in comparison with the publications of any similar societies.

Servia, the Poor Man's Paradise. By Herbert Vivian. Longmans.

English descriptions of Servia are not common, hence a work like Mr. Vivian's, on the whole fairly well written and containing considerable information about a rather obscure country, is welcome. We may not find that it quite agrees with our previous impressions. Thus, reading the newspapers would hardly have convinced us that Servia possessed "a race of heroes and patriots who may one day set Europe by the ears," and this statement comes from a pessimistic author who declares that, "until I saw Servia, I disbelieved in modern nations." We had supposed the land was fertile, but we are glad to learn that "there are undoubtedly vast mineral resources." If we question the financial stability of the Government, we are reassured, because the fact "that the 4 per cent. guaranteed stock now stands only at sixty-eight is due to the spiteful tactics of the Vienna Bourse." Perhaps the people are a trifle backward, yet it is comforting

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that "the Servian peasant of to-day, in the plenitude of his simple satisfactions, is far more to be envied now than when his mind shall have been unsettled by the visions of precipitate progress." Those who remember that the Servians were crushed in their last war with the Turks, and were whipped by an inferior number of Bulgarians, may note that at Slivinitsa they were beaten only because "they despised their enemy." To the question, "What to do with our sons?" the answer is, "Send them out to the Balkan States, where they shall be happy and wealthy and wise!"

Still, without being convinced of the entire correctness of the above, we can learn a good deal from the book. If Mr. Vivian's judgment of Servian politics is too much colored by his ultra-conservative opinions (in English politics he is said to be a Jacobite) to have any great value, in other matters we sometimes find him criticising with a frankness and severity which his more enthusiastic phrases would not have led us to expect. He saw a good deal of the country, he covers ground that is but little known to the outside world, and he has given us a work instructive enough to make it worth recommending to a not too critical public.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Bréal, Michel. Un Officier de l'Ancienne France, etc. Deux Études sur Goethe. Paris: Hachette.
Bruchmann, Kurt. Poetik: Naturlehre der Dichtung. Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz.
Carleton, Will. Farm Ballads. New ed. Harpers.
Chamberlain, Rev. L. T. The State, its Nature, Origin, and Functions. Baker & Taylor Co.
Darlu, A. M. Bruneticre et l'Individualisme. Paris: A. Colin & Cie.
Elivas, Knarf. John Ship, Mariner. F. A. Stokes Co. $1.25.
Franklin, Rear-Admiral S. R. Memories of a Rear-Admiral. Harpers. $3.
Fraser, Mrs. Hugh. The Looms of Time. Appletons. $1.
Gollancz, Israel. Hamlet in Iceland. London: David Nutt.
Howells, W. D. Stories of Ohio. American Book Co. 60c.
Jefferson-Davis, Varina A. A Romance of Summer Seas. Harpers. $1.25.
Lane, Prof. G. M. A Latin Grammar for Schools and Colleges. Harpers.
Moffett, Cleveland. True Detective Stories. G. W. Dillingham Co. 25c.
Potwin, Prof. L. S. Here and There in the Greek Testament. F. H. Revell Co. $1.
Bowhill, Maj. J. H. Questions and Answers in the Theory and Practice of Military Topography. With Working Plans. Macmillan. $3.
Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám. Rendered into English Verse by Edward Fitz-Gerald and into Latin by Herbert Wilson Greene. Boston: N. H. Dole.
Schirmacher, Karthe. Le Féminisme. Paris: A. Colin & Cie.
Shields, Prof. C. W. The Reformer of Geneva: An Historical Drama. Putnams. $1.25.
Texte, Joseph. Études de Littérature Européenne. Paris: A. Colin & Cie.
Thackeray, W. M. Barry Lyndon. [Biographical Edition.] Harpers. $1.50.

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